VOLUME TEN, NUMBER FOUR WINTER 1990-91 The Journal of Historical Review INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

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—Review—
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—Historical News & Comment—
Battleship Auschwitz
The Last Liberal Historian: A.J.P. Taylor (1906-1990)

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VOLUME TEN, NUMBER 4/WINTER 1990-91

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The Journal of Historical Review is published quarterly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505. Subscriptions include the *IHR Newsletter*, containing news of interest to academic and lay Historical Revisionists, which is issued in alternate months of issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* except August. Combined subscription price is $40 per year, $65 for two years and $90 for three years. Add $10 per year for foreign subsciptions. Add $20 per year for overseas airmail delivery. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available on request. Issues of *The Journal of Historical Review*, from 1985 to the present, are available for purchase. Please write for our backlist and prices. Appropriate, double-spaced manuscripts are welcomed by the editor, and must be accompanied by return postage.

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Member:
Conference of Historical Journals

ISSN: 0195-6752

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 1306
Torrance, California 90505

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From the Editor

This fortieth issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, capping a decade of publication (with one year's "sabbatical") could be called the "David Irving issue." In three separate, full-length articles the Englishman gives a masterly display of his versatility as an historian. The dogged prospector for original sources, the merciless discreditor of the forgeries on which the Establishment has based its historical distortions, the defier of censorship and repression, and the dazzling public performer: all these Irvings are on display in this issue of *The JHR*.

Irving's revised introduction to the new, condensed American edition of *Hitler's War*, reprinted here with his permission, cuts a wide swath through an array of documentary fakes long relied on by other Hitler biographers. Just as important, it covers a good deal of the giant step Irving has taken over the past two years, from his already dissident position on Hitler's ignorance of the alleged Holocaust to the full-fledged Revisionist position on the gas chambers.

Just as Irving's unconventional findings on the Hitler years will challenge Revisionist and non-Revisionist alike, his bravura account of the last days of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel will again stoke the fires of controversy ignited by his *Trail of the Fox*. That brilliant biography was hailed by serious researchers when it appeared in 1977 for its exploitation of new sources and its relentless debunking of the myth, fostered by West German and Anglo-American circles, of Rommel the unreservedly anti-Hitler plotter and (uniquely) upright opponent. (Readers should note that citiations in smaller type size are taken directly from *The Trail of the Fox*; in other cases, Irving has condensed or paraphrased his sources.)

Then Mark Weber, who will be joining IHR's staff in Southern California in the new year, reviews a period of extraordinary gains for Historical Revisionism in his keynote address to the Tenth Conference. As Weber demonstrates, the collapse of the Soviet system in East-Central Europe and the impending break-up of the Soviet Union, with the complete discrediting of Communism as its concomitant, have momentous implications for setting straight the past record, in the "democratic" West as well the East. No less important, as Weber shows, has been the steady advance of Holocaust

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Hitler's War: An Introduction to the New Edition

DAVID IRVING

"To historians is granted a talent that even the gods are denied—to alter what has already happened."

I bore this scornful adage in mind when I embarked on this study of Adolf Hitler's twelve years of absolute power. I saw myself as a stone-cleaner—less concerned with architectural appraisal than with scrubbing years of grime and discoloration from the facade of a silent and forbidding monument. I set out to describe events from behind the Führer's desk, seeing each episode through his eyes. The technique necessarily narrows the field of view, but it does help to explain decisions that are otherwise inexplicable. Nobody that I knew of had attempted this before, but it seemed worth the effort: after all, Hitler's war left forty million dead and caused all of Europe and half of Asia to be wasted by fire and explosives; it destroyed Hitler's "Third Reich," bankrupted Britain and lost her her Empire, and it brought lasting disorder to world affairs; it saw the entrenchment of Communism in one continent, and its emergence in another.

In earlier books I had relied on the primary records of the period rather than published literature, which contained too many pitfalls for the historian. I naively supposed that the same primary-sources technique could within five years be applied to a study of Hitler. In fact it would be thirteen years before the first volume, *Hitler's War*, was published in 1977 and twelve years later I am still indexing and adding to my documentary files. I remember, in 1965, driving down to Tilbury Docks to collect a crate of microfilm ordered from the U.S. government for this study; the liner that brought the crate has long been scrapped, the dockyard itself leveled to the ground. I suppose I took it all at a far too leisurely pace. But I

hope that this biography, now updated and revised, will outlive its rivals, and that more and more future writers find themselves compelled to consult it for materials that are contained in none of the others. Traveling around the world I have found that it has split the community of academic historians from top to bottom, particularly in the controversy around the "holocaust." In Australia alone, students from the universities of New South Wales and West Australia have told me that there they are penalized for citing *Hitler's War*; at the universities of Wollongong and Çanberra students are disciplined if they don't. The biography is required reading for officers at military academies from Sandhurst to West Point, New York, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and has attracted critical praise from the experts behind the Iron Curtain and from the denizens of the Far Right.

I, as its author, have had my home smashed into by thugs, my family terrorized, my name smeared, my printers firebombed, and myself arrested and deported by tiny, democratic Austria– an illegal act, their courts decided, for which the ministerial culprits are to be punished. A journalist for *Time* magazine dining with me in New York in 1988 remarked, "Before coming over I read the clippings files on you. Until *Hitler's War* you couldn't put a foot wrong, you were the darling of the media; after it, they heaped slime on you."

I offer no apology for having revised the existing picture of the man. I have tried to accord to him the kind of hearing that he would have got in an English court of law–where the normal rules of evidence apply, but also where a measure of insight is appropriate. There have been skeptics who questioned whether the heavy reliance on–inevitably angled–private souces is any better as a method of investigation than the more traditional quarries of informaton. My reply is that we certainly cannot deny the value of private sources altogether. As the *Washington Post* noted in its review of the first edition in 1977, "British historians have always been more objective toward Hitler than either German or American writers."

* * * * *

My conclusions on completing the manuscript startled even me. Hitler was a far less omnipotent Führer than has been

believed, and his grip on his subordinates had weakened with each passing year. Three episodes—the aftermath of the Ernst Röhm affair of June 30, 1934, the Dollfuss assassination a month later, and the anti-Jewish outrages of November 1938—show how his powers had been preempted by men to whom he felt himself in one way or another indebted. While my Hitler's central and guiding prewar ambition always remains constant, his methods and tactics were profoundly opportunistic. Hitler firmly believed in grasping at fleeting opportunities. "There is but one moment when the Goddess of Fortune wafts by," he lectured his adjutants in 1938, "and if you don't grab her then by the hem you won't get a second chance!" The manner in which he seized upon the double scandal in January 1938 to divest himself of the over-conservative army Commander in Chief, Werner von Fritsch, and to become his own Supreme Commander too, is a good example.

His geographical ambitions remained unchanged. He had no ambitions against Britain or her Empire at all, and all the captured records solidly bear this out. He had certainly built the wrong air force and the wrong navy for a sustained campaign against the Britsh Isles; and subtle indications, like his instructions to Fritz Todt (page 43) to erect huge monuments on the Reich's western frontiers, suggest that for Hitler these frontiers were of a lasting nature. There is equally solid proof of his plans to invade the east—his secret speech of February 1933 (page 46), his memorandum of August 1936 (pages 57-58), his June 1937 instructions for the expansion of Pillau as a Baltic naval base (page 66), and his remarks to Mussolini in May 1938 (page 100), that "Germany will step out along the ancient Teutonic path, toward the east." Not until later that month, it turns out (page 104), did Hitler finally resign himself to the likelihood that Britain and France would probably not stand aside.

These last prewar years saw Hitler's intensive reliance on psychological warfare techniques. The principle was not new: Napoleon himself had defined it thus: "The reputation of one's arms in war is everything, and equivalent to real forces." But using the records of the Propaganda Ministry and various editorial offices I have tried to illustrate how advanced the Nazis were in those "cold war" techniques. Related to this theme is my emphasis on Hitler's foreign Intelligence sources.

The Nazis' wiretapping and code-breaking agency, the Forschungsamt, which destroyed all its records in 1945, holds the key to many of his successes. The agency eavesdropped on foreign diplomats in Berlin and—even more significantly—it fed to Hitler hour-by-hour transcripts of the lurid and incautious telephone conversations conducted between an embattled Prague and the Czech diplomats in London and Paris during September 1938 (pages 127-135). From the time of Munich until the outbreak of war with Britain Hitler could follow virtually hourly how his enemies were reacting to each Nazi ploy, and he rightly deduced by August 22, 1939, that while the western powers might well formally declare war they would not actually fight—not at first, that is.

The war years say Hitler was a powerful and relentless military commander, the inspiration behind great victories like the Battle of France in May 1940 and the Battle of Kharkov in May 1942; even Marshal Zhukov later privately admitted that Hitler's summer 1941 strategy—rather than the general staff's frontal assault on Moscow—was unquestionably right. But at the same time Hitler became a lax and indecisive *political* leader, who allowed affairs of state to stagnate. Though often brutal and insensitive, he lacked the ability to be ruthless where it mattered most. He refused to bomb London itself until Mr. Churchill forced the decision on him in late Augsut 1940. He was reluctant to impose the test of total mobilization on the German "master race" until it was too late to matter, so that with munitions factories crying out for manpower, idle German housewives were still employing half a million domestic servants to dust their homes and polish their furniture. Hitler's military irresolution sometimes showed through, for example in his panicky vacillation at times of crisis like the battle for Narvik in 1940. He took ineffectual measures against his enemies inside Germany for too long, and seems to have been unable to face effectively against strong opposition at the very heart of his High Command. In fact he suffered incompetent ministers and generals far longer than the Allied leaders did. He failed to unite the feuding factions of Party and Wehrmacht in fights for the common cause, and he proved incapable of stifling the corrosive hatred of the War Department (OKH) for the Wehrmacht High Command (OKW).

I believe that I show in this book that the more hermetically Hitler locked himself away behind the barbed wire and mine fields of his remote military headquarters, the more his Germany became a Führer-Staat with a Führer. Domestic policy was controlled by whoever was most powerful in each sector—by Hermann Göring as head of the powerful economic agency, the Four-Year Plan; by Hans Lammers as chief of the Reich Chancellery; or by Martin Bormann, the Nazi party boss; or by Heinrich Himmler, minister of the interior and Reichsführer of the evil-famed SS.

* * * * *

Hitler was a problem, a puzzle even to his most intimate advisers. Joachim Ribbentrop, his foreign minister, wrote in his Nuremberg prison cell in 1945:

> I got to know Adolf Hitler more closely in 1933. But if I am asked today whether I knew him well—how he thought as a politican and statesman, what kind of man he was—then I'm bound to confess that I know only very little about him; really, nothing at all. The fact is that although I went through so much together with him, in all the years of working with him I never came closer to him than on the first day we met, either personally or otherwise.

The sheer complexity of that character is evident from a comparison of his brutality in some respects with his almost maudlin sentimentality and stubborn adherence to military conventions that others had long abandoned. We find him cold-bloodedly ordering a hundred hostages executed for every German occupation soldier killed; dictating the massacre of Italian officers who had turned their weapons against German troops in 1943; ordering the liquidation of Red Army commissars, Allied commando troops, and captured Allied aircrews; in 1942 he announced that the male populations of Stalingrad and Leningrad were to be exterminated. He justified all these orders by the expendiencies of war. Yet the same Hitler indignantly exclaimed, in the last week of his life, that Soviet tanks were flying the Nazi swastika as a ruse during street fighting in Berlin, and he flatly forbade his Wehrmacht to violate flag rules. He had opposed every suggestion for the use of poison gases, as that would violate the Geneva Protocol; at that time Germany alone had manufactured the potentially war-

winning lethal nerve gases Sarin and Tabun. In an age in which the government of the democracies engineered or condoned the assassinations, successfully or otherwise, of the inconvenient—from General Sikorski, Admiral Darlan, Field Marshal Rommel, and King Boris of Bulgaria to Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, and Salvador Allende— we learn that Hitler, the world's most unscrupulous dictator, not only *never* resorted to the assassination of foreign opponents but flatly forbade his Abwehr to attempt it. In particular he rejected Admiral Canaris's plans to assassinate the Red Army General Staff.

The biggest problem in dealing analytically with Hitler is the aversion to him deliberately created by years of intense wartime propaganda and emotive postwar historiography. I came to the subject with almost neutral feelings. My own impression of the war was limited to snapshot memories—1940 summer picnics around the wreckage of a Heinkel bomber in the local Bluebell Woods; the infernal organ note of the V-1 flying bombs passing overhead; convoys of drab army trucks rumbling past our country gate; counting the gaps in the American bomber squadrons straggling back each day from Germany; waving to the troopships sailing in June 1944 from Southsea beach to Normandy; and of course, VE-day itself, with the bonfires and beating of the family gong. Our knowledge of the Germans "responsible" for all this was not profound. In *Everybody's* magazine, long defunct, I recall "Ferrier's World Searchlight" with its weekly caricatures of a clubfoot dwarf called Goebbels and the other comic Nazi heroes.

The caricatures have bedeviled the writing of modern history ever since. Confronted by the phenomenon of Hitler himself, historians cannot grasp that he was a walking, talking human weighing some 155 pounds with graying hair, largely false teeth, and chronic digestive ailments. He is to them the Devil incarnate; he *has* to be, because of the sacrifices that we made in destroying him.

The caricaturing process became respectable as the Nuremberg war crimes trials. History has been plagued since then by the prosecution teams' methods of selecting exhibits and by the subsequent publication of them in neatly printed and indexed volumes and the incineration of any document that might have hindered the prosecution effort. At

Nuremberg the blame for what happened was shifted from general to minister, from minister to Party official, and from all of them invariably to Hitler. Under the system of "licensed" publishers and newspapers established by the victors in postwar Germany the legends prospered. No story was too absurd to gain credence in the history books and memoirs.

Among these creative writers the German General Staff take pride of place. Without Hitler few of them would have risen above colonel. They owed him their jobs, their medals, their estates and endowments, and not infrequently their victories too. After the war those who survived—which was sometimes because they had been dismissed and thus removed from the hazards of the battlefield—contrived to divert the blame for final defeat. In the files of Nuremberg prosecutor Justice Robert H. Jackson I found a note warning about the tactics that General Franz Halder, the former chief of General Staff, proposed to adopt: "I just want to call your attention to the CSDIC intercepts of Halder's conversations with other generals. He is extremely frank on what he thinks should be suppressed or distorted and in particular is very sensitive to the suggestion that the German General Staff was involved in anything, especially planning for war." Fortunately this embarrassed interplay of conscience and memory was more than once recorded for posterity by the hidden microphones of the CSDIC (Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Center). Thus the cavalry general Rothkirch, the III Corps commander, captured at Bitburg on March 6, 1945, was overheard three days later describing how he had personally liquidated Jews in a small town near Vitebsk, Russia, and how he had been warned not to disturb mass graves near Minsk as these were about to be exhumed and incinerated so as to destroy all traces. "I have decided," he told fellow prisoners, "to twist every statement I make so that the officer corps is white-washed—*relentlessly, relentlessly!*"[1] And when General Heinz Guderian and the arrogant, supercilious General Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg were asked by their American captors to write their own history of the war, they first sought Field Marshall Wilhelm Leeb's permission as senior officer at the Seventh Army's CSDIC. Again hidden microphones recorded their talk:

> Leeb: Well, I can only give you my personal opinion . . . You will have to weigh your answers carefully when they pertain

> to objectives, causes, and the progress of operations, in order to see where they may impinge on the interests of our Fatherland. On the one hand we have to admit that the Americans know the course of operations quite accurately; they even know which units were employed on our side. However they are not quite so familiar with our motives. And there is one point where it would be advisable to proceed with caution, so that we do not become the laughingstock of the world. I do not know what your relations were with Hitler, but I do know his military capacity . . . You will have to consider your answers a bit carefully when approached on this subject so that you say nothing that might embarrass our Fatherland . . .
>
> Geyr von Schweppenburg: The types of madness known to psychologists cannot be compared with the one the Führer suffered from. He was a madman surrounded by serfs. I do not think we should express ourselves quite as strongly as that in our statements. Mention of this fact will have to be made, however, in order to exonerate a few persons.

After agonizing over whether and which German generals advocated war in 1939, Leeb suggested: "The question is now whether we should not just admit openly everything we know."

> Geyr: Any objective observer will admit that National Socialism did raise the social status of the worker, and in some respects even his standard of living.
>
> Leeb: This is one of the great achievements of National Socialism. The excesses of National Socialism were in the first and final analysis due to the Führer's personality.
>
> Guderian: The fundamental principles were fine.
>
> Leeb: That is true.

In writing this biography I therefore adopted strict criteria in selecting my source material. I have used not only the military records and archives; I have burrowed deep into the contemporary writings of his closest personal staff, seeking clues to the real truth in diaries and private letters written to wives and friends. For the few autobiographical works I have used I preferred to rely on their original manuscripts rather than the printed texts, as in the early postwar years apprehensive publishers (especially the "licensed" ones in Germany) made drastic changes in them—for example in the memoirs of Karl-Wilhelm Krause, Hitler's manservant. Thus I relied on the original handwritten memoirs of Walter

Schellenberg, Himmler's Intelligence chief, rather than on the mutilated and ghostwritten version subsequently published by André Deutsch. I would go so far as to warn against several works hitherto accepted as "standard" sources on Hitler—particularly those by Konrad Heiden, the Abwehr/OSS double agent Hans Bernd Gisevius, Erich Kordt, and Hitler's dismissed adjutant Fritz Wiedemann. (The latter unashamedly explained in a private 1940 letter to a friend, "It makes no difference if exaggerations and even falsehoods do creep in.") Profesor Carl-Jakob Burckhardt's "diary" quoted in his memoir, *Meine Danziger Mission 1937-1939*, is impossible to reconcile with Hitler's actual movements; while Hermann Rauschning's *Conversations with Hitler* (Zürich, 1940) has bedeviled analysis of Hitler's policies ever since it was published by the evil propagandist Emery Reves (Imre Revész) along with a host of other fables. Rauschning, a former Nazi Danzig politician, met Hitler on only a couple of formal occasions. It was being republished in Vienna as recently as 1973, although even the otherwise uncritical West German historian Professor Eberhard Jäckel—who carelessly included 78 forgeries in a serious volume of Hitler's manuscripts, and then dismissed this poisonous injection as making up less than 5 percent of the total volume!—emphasized in a learned article in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (No. 11, 1977) that Rauschning's volume has no claim to credibility at all. Reves was also publisher of that other famous "source" on early Nazi history, Fritz Thyssen's "memoirs," *I Paid Hitler* (London, 1943). Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., has pointed out in a paper in *Vierteljahrsheft für Zeitgeschichte* (No. 3, 1971) that the luckless Thyssen never even saw eight of the book's nineteen chapters, while the rest were drafted in French! The list of such spurious volumes is endless. The anonymous "memoirs" of the late Christa Schroeder, *Hitler Privat* (Düsseldorf, 1949) were penned by Albert Zoller, a French army liaison officer to the U.S. Seventh Army. Martin Bormann's alleged notes on Hitler's final bunker conversations, published with an introduction by Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper in 1961 as *The Testament of Adolf Hitler* and—regrettably—published by Albrecht Knaus Verlag in German as *Hitlers Politisches Testament: Die Bormann Diktate* (Hamburg, 1981) are in my view quite spurious: a copy of the partly typed, partly handwritten document is in my possession, and this leaves no doubt.

But historians are quite incorrigible, and will quote any apparently primary source no matter how convincingly its pedigree is exposed. Albert Speer's *Inside the Third Reich* made him a personal fortune after the West Berlin firm of Propyläen published the book in 1969. They earned him wide respect for his disavowal of Hitler. But some critics were puzzled that the American edition differed substantially from the German original *Erinnerungen* and the British edition. In fact I learned the truth from the horse's mouth, being one of the first writers to interview Speer after his release from Spandau prison in 1966. The former Reichsminister spent an afternoon reading out loud to me from his draft memoirs. The book subsequently published was very different, having been written, he explained, by my own in-house editor at the Ullstein publishing house (Annette Engel geb. Etienne), by their chief editor Wolf-Jobst Siedler, and by historian Joachim Fest, editor of the prestigious *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Miss Etienne confirmed this. When I challenged Speer in private at a Frankfurt publishing dinner in October 1979 to publish his original memoirs, he replied rather wistfully that he wished he could: "But it would be impossible. That manuscript was quite out of keeping with the modern nuances. Even the captions to the chapters would have caused difficulties." A courageous Berlin author, Matthias Schmidt, later published a book[2] exposing the Speer legend and the "memoirs"; but it is the latter volume which the lazy gentlemen of my profession have in their libraries, not Schmidt's, thus proving the opening words of this introduction true.

It was symptomatic of Speer's truthfulness to history that while he was in Spandau he paid for the entire wartime diaries of his office (Dienststelle) to be retyped omitting the more unfortunate passages, and donated these faked documents to the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz. My comparison of the 1943 volume, housed in the original in British Cabinet Office archives, with the Bundesarchiv copy made this plain, and Matthias Schmidt also reveals the forgery. In fact I have been startled by the number of such "diaries" which close scrutiny proves to have been faked or tampered with—invariably to Hitler's disadvantage.

Two different men claimed to possess the entire diaries of Vice Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, the legendary Abwehr chief hanged by Hitler in April 1945. The first, Klaus Benzing,

produced "documents of the postwar German Intelligence Service (BND)" and original papers "signed by Canaris" in his support; the second, the German High Court judge Fabian von Schlabrendorff, announced that his set of the diaries had recently been returned by Generalissimo Francisco Franco to the West German government. Forensic tests on the paper and ink of a "Canaris document" supplied by the first man, conducted for me by the London laboratory of Hehner & Cox Ltd., proved them to be forgeries. An interview with Franco's *chef de bureau*—his brother-in-law Don Felipe Polo Valdes—in Madrid disposed of the German judge's equally improbable claim. Similarly the Eva Braun diaries published by the film actor Luis Trenker were largely forged from the memoirs written decades earlier by Countess Irma Larisch-Wallersee; the forgery was established by the Munich courts in October 1948. Eva Braun's genuine diaries and voluminous intimate correspondence with Hitler were acquired by the CIC team of Colonel Robert A. Gutierrez, based in Stuttgart-Backnang in the summer of 1945; after a brief sifting by Frau Ursula Göhler on their behalf, these papers have not been seen since. I visited Gutierrez twice in new Mexico—he subsequently released Eva Braun's wedding dress and silver flatware (which he admitted having retained) to my research-colleague Willi Korte, but he has not conceded an inch over the missing papers and diaries.

The oft-quoted diaries of Himmler's and Ribbentrop's Berlin masseur Felix Kersten are equally fictitious—as for example the "twenty-six-page medical dossier on Hitler" described in chapter XXIII (pp. 165-171 of the English edition) shows when compared with the genuine diaries of Hitler's doctor, Theo Morell, which I found and published in 1983. The genuine Kersten diaries which Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper saw in Sweden were never published, perhaps because of the political dynamite they contained on Sweden's elite, including publisher Albert Bonnier, alleged to have offered Himmler the addresses of every Jew in Sweden in return for concessions in the event of a Nazi invasion. Similarly the "diaries" published by Rudolf Semmler in *Goebbels—the Man Next to Hitler* (London, 1947) are phony too, as the entry for January 12, 1945, proves; it has Hitler as Goebbels's guest in Berlin, when the Führer was in fact still fighting the Battle of the Bulge from his headquarters in West Germany. And there are obvious anachronisms in Count Galeazzo Ciano's extensively quoted

"diaries": for example Marshal Rodolfo Graziani's "complaints about Rommel" on December 12, 1940—two full months *before* Rommel was appointed to Italy's North Africa theater! In fact Ciano spent the months after his dismissal in February 1943 rewriting and "improving" the diaries himself, which makes them readable but useless for the purposes of history. Ribbentrop warned about the forgery in his prison memoirs—he claimed to have seen Ciano's real diaries in September 1943—and the Nazi interpreter Eugen Dollmann described in his memoirs how the fraud was actually admitted to him by a British officer at a prison camp. The OSS files on this are in the Allen W. Dulles papers (unfortunately still closed) at the Mudd Library, Princeton University; but even the most superficial examination of the handwritten original volumes reveals the extent to which Ciano (or others) doctored them and interpolated material—yet historians of the highest repute have quoted them without question as they have Ciano's so-called "Lisbon Papers," although the latter too bear all the hallmarks of subsequent editing. (They have all been retyped on the same typewriter although ostensibly originating over the six years 1936-42.)

Some diaries have been amended in relatively harmless ways: the Luftwaffe Chief of Staff Karl Koller's real shorthand diary often bears no resemblance to the version he published as *Der letzte Monat* (Mannheim, 1949). And Helmuth Grenier, keeper of the official OKW operations staff war diary until 1943, seized the opportunity in 1945, when asked by the Americans to retranscribe his original notes for the lost volumes from August 1942 to March 1943, to excise passages which reflected unfavorably on fellow prisoners like General Adolf Heusinger—or too favorably on Hitler; and no doubt to curry favor with the Americans, he added lengthy paragraphs charged with pungent criticism of Hitler's conduct of the war which I found to be missing from his original handwritten notes. This tendency—to pillory Hitler after the war—was also strongly evident in the "diaries" of the late General Gerhard Engel, who served as his army adjutant from March 1938 to October 1943. Historiographical evidence alone—e.g., comparison with the 1940 private diaries of Reichsminister Fritz Todt or the wife of General Rudolf Schmundt, or with the records of Field Marshal von Manstein's Army Group Don at the time of Stalingrad—indicates that whatever they are,

they are *not* contemporaneous diaries; tests on the age of the paper confirmed it. Regrettably, the well-known Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich nonetheless published them in a volume, *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler 1938-1943* (Stuttgart, 1974), rather feebly drawing attention to the "diaries'" inconsistencies in a short introduction.

With the brilliant exception of Trevor-Roper, whose book *The Last Days of Hitler* was based on the records of the era and is therefore virtually unassailable even today, each successive biographer repeated or engrossed the legends created by his predecessors, or at best consulted only the most readily available works of reference themselves. In the 1960s and 1970s a wave of weak, repetitive, and unrevealing Hitler biographies had washed through the bookstores. The most widely publicized was that written by a German television personality, Joachim Fest; but he later told a questioner that he had not even visited the magnificent National Archives in Washington, which houses by far the largest collection of records relating to recent Europen history. Stylistically, Fest's German was good; but the old legends were trotted out afresh, polished to an impressive gleam of authority. The same Berlin company also published my book shortly after, under the title *Hitler und seine Feldherren;* their chief editor, Siedler, found many of my arguments distasteful, even dangerous, and without informing me suppressed or even reversed them. In *their* printed text Hitler had not told Himmler (on November 30, 1941) that there was to be "no liquidation" of a consignment of Jews from Berlin; he had told him not to use the word "liquidate" publicly in connection with their extermination program. Thus history is falsified! I prohibited further printing of the book, two days after its appearance in Germany, and litigated for ten years to regain the right to publish it in its original form. To explain their actions, the Berlin publishers argued that my manuscript expressed some views that were "an affront to established historical opinion" in their country.

My idle predecessors had gratefully lamented that most of the documents had been destroyed. They had not—they survived in embarrassing superabundance. The official papers of Luftwaffe Field Marshal Erhard Milch, Göring's deputy, were captured by the British and total over 60,000 pages; the entire war diary of the German naval staff, of immense value

far beyond purely naval matters, survived; it took many months to read the 69 volumes of main text, some over 900 pages long, in Washington and to examine the most promising of the 3,900 microfilm records of German naval records held in Washington. After the first edition of this book appeared in 1975 the diaries of Joseph Goebbels were released in the west; I had some qualms that they might reveal some of my more dangerous hypotheses to have been hollow. (They did not, in my opinion.)

Many sources of prime importance are still missing. That diplomatic historians never once bothered in thirty years to visit the widow of Joachim von Ribbentrop's Staatssekretär von Weizsäcker, father of the present West German president, was a baffling mystery to me. Had they looked for the widow of Walther Hewel, Ribbentrop's liaison officer to Hitler, they would have learned about his diaries too. And who are these overemotional historians of the Jewish holocaust who have never troubled themselves even to open a readily available file of the SS Chief Heinrich Himmler's own handwritten telephone notes, or to read his memoranda for his secret meetings with Adolf Hitler? Alas, apart from one 1935 diary now in the United States, of which I have donated a copy to the Bundesarchiv, the diaries of Himmler have vanished—partly said to be in Moscow, and partly known to be in Tel Aviv, Israel; Chaim Rosenthal, a former attaché at the Israeli Consulate in New York, obtained the Himmler diaries by the most questionable means and donated them to the University of Tel Aviv in 1982, but following extensive litigation against Rosenthal—now non grata in the U.S.A.—the university returned the volumes to him.

Other diaries are also sorely missed. Those of former Gestapo executive Werner Best were last seen in the Royal Danish Archives in Copenhagen in 1945; those of Karl Wolff were last seen at Nuremberg. The diaries of Hans Lammers, Wilhelm Brückner, Karl Bodenschatz vanished into American or French hands; those of Professor Theo Morell too, to turn up miraculously in my presence in Washington in 1981. Nicolas von Below's are probably in Moscow. Alfred Rosenberg's remaining unpublished diaries are illicitly held by an American lawyer based in Frankfurt. The rest of Milch's diaries, of which I obtained some five thousand pages in 1967, have vanished, as have General Alfred Jodl's diaries covering

the years 1940 to 1943; they were looted along with his private property by the British 11th Armored Division at Flensburg in May, 1945. Only a brief fragment of Benito Mussolini's diary survives: the SS copied the originals and returned them to him in January 1945, but both the originals and the copy placed in Ribbentrop's files are missing now. The important diaries of Rudolf Schmundt were, unhappily, burned at his request by his fellow adjutant Admiral Karl-Jesco von Puttkamer in April 1945, along with Puttkamer's own diaries. The diary of Dr. Stephan Tiso, the last Slovak premier (from August 1944), is held in the closed files of the Hoover Institution, Stanford, California; they also hold the diary of SS Obergruppenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger—another item willfully overlooked by West Germany's historians.

My search for sources that might throw light on Hitler's character was sometimes successful, sometimes not. Weeks of searching with a proton-magnetometer – a kind of supersensitive mine detector—in a forest in East Germany failed to unearth a glass jar containing stenograms of Goebbel's very last diaries, although at times, according to the map in my possession, we must have stood right over it. But in writing this biography I did obtain a significant number of authentic, little-known diaries of the people around Hitler, including an unpublished segment of Jodl's diary; the official diary kept for OKW chief Wilhelm Keitel by his adjutant Wolf Eberhard, and Eberhard's own diary for the years 1936 through 1939; the diary of Nikolaus von Vormann, army liaison officer to Hitler during August and September 1939; and the diaries kept by Martin Bormann and by Hitler's personal adjutant Max Wünsche relating to Hitler's movements. In addition I have used the unpublished diaries of Fedor von Bock, Erhard Milch, Erich von Manstein, Wilhelm Leeb, Erwin Lahousen, and Eduard Wagner—whose widow allowed me to copy some two thousand pages of his private letters. Christa Schroeder, one of Hitler's private secretaries, made available exclusively to me her important contemporary papers. Julius Schaub's family let me copy all his manuscripts about his twenty years as Hitler's senior aide, as did Wilhelm Brückner's son. I am the first biographer to have used the private papers of Staatssekretär Herbert Backe and his minister, Richard Walter Darré, and the diaries, notebooks,

and papers of Fritz Todt. The British government kindly made available to me precious fragments of the diary of Admiral Canaris. Scattered across Germany and America, I found the shorthand and typed pages of Erwin Rommel's diaries, and the elusive diaries and notebooks that Reichmarschall Hermann Göring had kept from his childhood on. Among the most revealing documents used in this biography are the manuscripts written by Generaloberst Werner Freiherr von Fritsch in 1938 and 1939; this I obtained from a Soviet source. Jutta Freifrau von Richthofen allowed me access to the voluminous unpublished diaries of her husband, the late field marshal.

In short, every member of Hitler's staff or High Command whom I located seemed to have carefully hoarded diaries or papers which were eventually produced for my exploitation here. They were mostly in German, but the research papers on the fringe of my work came in a Babel of other languages: Italian, Russian, French, Spanish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Czech. Some cryptic references to Hitler and Ribbentrop in the Hewel diaries defied all my puny code-breaking efforts, and then proved to have been written in Indonesian! All of these records I have now donated to the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, where they are available as the Irving Collection to other writers. Second World War researchers will find microfilms of all the materials that I collected while researching this and other books available from Microform Ltd., East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire, WF3 2JN (telephone 0924-825 700) and Altair Publishing, 21 Scott Green Drive, Gildersome, Yorkshire LS27 7BZ (telephone 0532-536 615).

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Of the newly available collections of records three are worthy of note—the formerly Top Secret CSDIC-series interrogation reports in Class War Office 208 at the Public Records Office, Kew, London; the "Adolf Hitler Collection," housed in three file boxes at the Seeley G. Mudd Library, Princeton University, New Jersey; and some five hundred pages of Joachim von Ribbentrop's preministerial letters and memoranda to Hitler, 1933-36, found in the ruins of the Reich

Chancellery and now in the Louis Lochner papers at the Hoover Institution's archives, Stanford, California.

The "Hitler Collection" was purloined by Private First Class Eric Hamm of the U.S. Army's war crimes branch from Hitler's residence in Munich, and eventually sold by a Chicago auction house. It reflects Hitler's career well—archive photographs of his sketches and paintings, ambassadors' dispatches, reports on the shooting of "professional criminals" while "resisting arrest," a 1925 hotel registration filled out by Hitler (who entered himself as "stateless"), documents on the Spanish civil war, Röhm's preparations for the 1923 beer-hall putsch, an instruction by Martin Bormann that Hitler had agreed to cover bills run up by the peripatetic Princess Hohenlohe but would pay no more, extensive documentation on the Party's relations with the Church; on December 20, 1940, Pierre Laval wrote to Hitler "desiring from the bottom of my heart that my country shall not suffer," and assuring him: "The policy of collaboration with Germany is supported by the vast majority of the French." Hjalmar Schacht several times protested to Hitler about the economic damage caused by anti-Jewish strictures; on August 24, 1935, he wrote that Robert Ley's instruction that Woolworth & Co. was not to buy from Jewish suppliers would result in the company's head office canceling ten million marks of orders from Germany annually: "It is not clear to me, and never has been, how I am supposed to bring in foreign currency in the face of such policies." On March 30, 1936, Schacht asked Hitler to receive a certain American silk manufacturer who had been requested by President Roosevelt to "convey personal greetings to the Führer." On June 20, 1938, Count Helldorf, police chief of Berlin, sent to Hitler a report on organized anti-Jewish *razzias* in Berlin. Later that year the police sent to Hitler a file on the Jewish assassin Herschel Grynszpan, confirming that his parents had been dumped back over the Polish border at Neu Bentschen on October 29—a few days before he gunned down a German diplomat in Paris—pursuant to the Reich's drive against Polish Jews who had settled in Germany. In February 1939 Hitler endorsed the refusal of his embassy in Washington to pay Danegeld to Kurt Lüdecke, a former Nazi who had invited the Party publishing house or some other Reich agency to buy up all rights in his scurrilous memoirs to prevent their publication. The same file shows Hitler acting to

stop the Nazi heavyweight Max Schmeling staging a return fight against the Negro Joe Louis. ("As you know," Julius Schaub wrote to the sports minister on March 2, 1939, "the Führer was against the fight in the first place.")

Most enigmatic of these documents is one evidently originated by the Gestapo after 1940, typed on the special "Führer typewriter," reporting ugly rumors about Hitler's ancestry—"that the Führer was an illegitimate child, adoptive son of Alois, that the Führer's mother's name was Schicklgruber[3] before the adoption and that the Schicklgruber line has produced a string of idiots." Among the latter was a tax official, Josef Veit, deceased in 1904 in Klagenfurt, Austria. One of his sons had committed suicide, a daughter had died in an asylum, a surviving daughter was feebleminded. The Gestapo established that the family of Konrad Pracher of Graz has a dossier of photographs and certificates on all this. Himmler had them seized "to prevent their misuse."

The Ribbentrop files reflect his tortuous relations as "ambassador extraordinary" with Hitler and his rivals. He had established his influence by making good contacts with Englishmen of influence—among them not only industrialists like E.W.D. Tennant and newspaper barons like Lord Rothermere, Lord Astor, and Lord Camrose, but also the Cabinet ministers of the day, including Lord Hailsham, Lord Lloyd, Lord Londonderry, and young Anthony Eden, in whom Ribbentrop rightly saw the rising star of the Conservative Party. The files contain records of Ribbentrop's meetings with Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay Macdonald in 1933 and 1934—which the latter would probably wish had gone unrecorded, as events turned out. They also reflect the tenuous links established between Sir Oswald Mosley and his lieutenants with the Nazi party leadership in Berlin. Typical of the many handwritten letters from Ribbentrop to Hitler was one dated January 6, 1935, thanking him for the show of confidence betokened by his new appointment to *Reichsleiter*—"Not only does this clearly define my status in the Party, removing any doubts as to your views on me and my activities, but the appointment also gives me a different position vis-à-vis the foreign ministry both externally and internally." He signed it "your trusty Ribbentrop."

* * * * *

Nothing created such agony when this biography was first published as my analysis of Hitler's role in the Jewish tragedy. Pure vitriol spilled from the pens of my critics, but I see no reason to revise my central hypothesis, which is based on the *records* of the day: that Hitler grasped quite early on that anti-Semitism would be a powerful vote-catching force in Germany; that he had no compunction against riding that evil steed right up to the portals of the Chancellery in 1933; but that once inside and in power, he dismounted and paid only lip service to that part of his Party creed. The Nazi gangsters under him continued to ride to hounds, however, even when Hitler dictated differently, e.g., in November 1938. As for the concentration camps he comfortably left that dark side of the Nazi rule to Himmler. He never visited one; those senior officials and foreigners who did obtain privileged access, like Ernst Udet or General Erhard Milch or British Members of Parliament in 1933 and 1934, were favorably impressed (but those were early days). Himmler is known to have visited Auschwitz in 1941 and 1942. Hitler never did.

The scale of Germany's Jewish problem is revealed by an unpublished manuscript by Hitler's predecessor as Chancellor, Dr. Heinrich Brüning. Writing in American exile in 1943 he stated that after the inflation there was only one major German bank not controlled by Jews, some of them "utterly corrupt." In 1931 he had brought the banks under government supervision, and had had to keep the government's findings of dishonesty in the banks secret "for fear of provoking anti-Semitic riots." Brüning blamed foreign correspondents for exaggerating the "occasional ill-treatment of Jews" at the beginning of the Nazi regime: "In the spring of 1933 foreign correspondents reported that the River Spree [in Berlin] was covered with the corpses of murdered Jews. At that time hardly any Jews except for leaders of the Communist party . . . had been attacked . . . If," he pointedly added, "the Jews had been treated so badly from the beginning of the regime, it could not be explained that so very few of them left the country before 1938." In 1948 Brüning would write to the editors of *Life* forbidding them to publish an August 1937 letter he had written to Winston Churchill revealing that "from October 1928 the two largest regular contributors to the Nazi party were the general managers of two of the largest Berlin banks, both of Jewish faith, and one of them the leader of Zionism in Germany."[4]

I had approached the Nazi maltreatment of the Jews from the traditional viewpoint prevailing in the 1960's. Supposing Hitler was a capable statesman and a gifted commander, the argument ran, how does one explain his "murder of six million Jews." If this biography were simply a history of the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich it would be legitimate to conclude "Hitler killed the Jews." He after all had created the atmosphere of hatred with his speeches in the 1930's; he and Himmler had created the SS; his speeches, though never explicit, left the clear impression that "liquidate" was what he meant. For a full-length war biography of Hitler, I felt that a more analytical approach to the key questions of initiative, complicity, and execution would be necessary. Remarkably, I found that Hitler's *own* role in the "Final Solution"—whatever that was—has never been examined. German historians, the epitome of painstaking essaying on every other subject, had developed monumental blind spots when Hitler himself cropped up: bald statements were made, and blame was laid, without the shadow of historical evidence in support. British and American historians followed suit. Other writers quoted them. For thirty years our knowledge of Hitler's part in the atrocity had rested on inter-historian incest.

Many people, particularly in Germany and Austria, had an interest in propagating the accepted version that the order of one madman originated the entire tragedy. Precisely when this order was given was, admittedly, left vague. Every document actually linking Hitler with the treatment of the Jews invariably takes the form of an embargo, from the 1923 beer-hall putsch (when he disciplined a Nazi squad for having looted a Jewish delicatessen) right through to 1943 and 1944. If he *was* an incorrigible anti-Semite, what are we to make of the urgent edict issued "to all Gau directorates for immediate action" by his deputy, Rudolf Hess, during the infamous Night of Broken Glass in November 1938, ordering an immediate stop to such outrage "on orders from the very highest level"? Every other historian has shut his eyes and hoped that this horrid, inconvenient document would somehow go away. But it has been joined by others, like the extraordinary note dictated by Staatssekretär Schlegelberger in the Reich Ministry of Justice in the spring of 1942: "Reich Minister Lammers," this states, referring to Hitler's top civil servant, "informed me that the Führer has repeatedly pronounced that

he wants the solution of the Jewish Question put off until after the war is over." Whatever way one looks at this document it is incompatible with the notion that Hitler had ordered an urgent liquidation program. (The document's original is in Justice ministry file R22/52 in the archives at Koblenz.) And Hermann Göring himself is on record as stressing at a Berlin conference on July 6, 1942, how much the Führer and he deprecated the doctrinaire harassment of Jewish scientists for example:

> I have discussed this with the Führer himself now; we have been able to use one Jew two years longer in Vienna, and another in photographic research, because they have certain things that we need and that can be of the utmost benefit to us at the present. It would be utter madness for us to say now: "He'll have to go. He was a magnificent researcher, a fantastic brain, but his wife is Jewish, and he can't be allowed to stay at the University," etc.
>
> The Führer has made similar exceptions in the arts all the way down to operetta level; he is all the more likely to make exceptions where really great projects or researchers are concerned.[5]

On several occasions in 1942 and 1943 Hitler made—in private—statements which are incompatible with the notion that he knew that a liquidation program had begun. We shall see how in October 1943, even as Himmler was disclosing to privileged audiences of SS generals and Gauleiters that Europe's Jews has been systematically murdered, Hitler was still forbidding liquidations—e.g., of the Italian Jews in Rome—and ordering their internment instead. (This order his SS also disobeyed.) In July 1944, overriding Himmler's objections, he ordered that Jews be bartered for foreign currency or supplies; there is some evidence that like contemporary terrorists he saw these captives as a potential asset, a means whereby he could blackmail his enemies. Wholly in keeping with his character, when Hitler was confronted with the facts he took no action to rebuke the guilty; he would not dismiss Himmler as Reichsführer SS until the last day of his life. It is plausible to impute to him that not uncommon characteristic of heads of state who are overreliant on powerful advisers: a conscious desire "not to know." But the proof of this is beyond the powers of a historian.

For the want of hard evidence—in 1977 I offered, around the world, a thousand pounds to any person who could

produce even one wartime document showing explicitly that Hitler knew, for example, of Auschwitz—my critics resorted to arguments ranging from the subtle to the sledgehammer (in one instance, literally). They postulated the existence of Führer orders without the slightest written evidence of their existence. John Toland, Pulitzer prize-winning author of a Hitler biography published in the United States, appealed emotionally in *Der Spiegel* for historians to refute my hypothesis, and they tried by fair means and foul. Perplexed by Himmler's handwritten note about a call to Heydrich after visiting Hitler's bunker on November 30, 1941—"Arrest [of] Dr. Jakelius. Alleged son Molotov. Consignment [transfer] of Jews from Berlin. No liquidation."—these wizards of modern history scoffed that probably Molotov's son was believed to be aboard a trainload of Jews from Berlin concealed as "Dr. Jakelius" and was on no account to be liquidated. In fact Molotov had no son; Dr. Jakelius was a Viennese neurologist involved in the Euthanasia program;[6] and the consignment of Jews from Berlin had that morning arrived at Riga and had already been liquidated by the local SS commander by the time that Himmler scribbled down Hitler's injunction.[7]

So far the German historians have been unable to help Mr. Toland, apart from suggesting that "of course" the whole project was so secret that only oral orders were issued. But why should Hitler have become so squeamish in this instance, while in contrast he had shown no compunction about signing a blanket order for the liquidation of tens of thousands of fellow Germans (the Euthanasia program); his insistence on the execution of hostages on a one-hundred-to-one basis, his orders for the liquidation of enemy prisoners (the Commando Order), of Allied airmen (the Lynch Order), and Russian functionaries (the Commissar Order) are documented all the way from the Führer's headquarters right down the line to the executioners.

Most of my critics relied on weak and unprofessional evidence. For example, they offered alternative and often specious translations of words in Hitler's speeches (apparently the Final Solution was too secret for him to sign an order, but simultaneously not so secret that he could not brag about it in public speeches!); and quotations from isolated documents that have however long been discarded by serious historians as worthless or fakes, like the Gerstein Report[8] or the "Bunker

conversations" mentioned earlier. Of explicit, written, wartime evidence, the kind of evidence that could hang a man, they have produced not one line. Thus, in his otherwise fastidious analysis of *Hitler and the Final Solution* (London, 1983) Professor Gerald Fleming relied on war crimes trial testimonies, which are anything but safe; reviewing that book, Professor Gordon Craig concluded that even Fleming had failed to refute my hypothesis. Professor Martin Broszat, director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, crudely assailed my biography in a 37-page review in the institute's journal, then refused space for a reply. Unfamiliar with my sources, and unaware that I had in several cases used original files which he and other historians had read only in English translation, he accused me of distorting and even inventing quotations.[9] Amidst such libels and calumnies Broszat was, however, forced to concede: "David Irving has perceived one thing correctly when he writes that in his view the killing of the Jews was partly a *Verlegenheitslösung*, 'the way out of an awkward dilemma.'"

Broszat's corollary, that there was *no* central Hitler Order for what happened, caused an uproar among the world's historians, a *Historikerstreit* which is not politically limited to Left versus Right. My own conclusion went one logical stage further: that in wartime, dictatorships are fundamentally weak—the dictator himself, however alert, is unable to oversee all the functions of his executives acting within the confines of his far-flung empire; and in this particular case, I concluded, the burden of guilt for the bloody and mindless massacres of the Jews rests on a large number of Germans (and non-Germans), many of them alive today, and not just on one "mad dictator," whose order had to be obeyed without question.

* * * * *

I also found it necessary to set very different historical accents on the doctrinaire foreign policies which Hitler enforced—from his apparent unwillingness to humiliate Britain when she lay prostrate in 1940, to his damaging and emotional hatred of the Serbs, his illogical and over-loyal admiration of Benito Mussolini, and his irrational mixtures of emotions toward Josef Stalin.

For a modern English historian there was a certain morbid fascination for me in inquiring how far Adolf Hitler really was

bent on the destruction of Britain and her Empire—a major raison d'être for our ruinous fight, which in 1940 imperceptibly replaced the more implausible reason proffered in August 1939, the rescue of Poland from outside oppression. Since in the chapters that follow evidence extracted again and again from the most intimate sources—like Hitler's private conversations with his women secretaries in June 1940—indicated that he originally had neither the intention nor the desire to harm Britain or destroy the Empire, surely British readers at least must ask themselves: what, then, were we really fighting for? Given that the British people bankrupted themselves (by December 1940) and lost their Empire in defeating Hitler, was the Führer right after all when he noted that Britain's attitude was essentially one of "*Après moi le déluge*—if only we can get rid of the hated National Socialist Germany"?

Unburdened by ideological idealism, the Duke of Windsor suspected in July 1940 that the war was continuing solely in order to allow certain British statesmen (he meant Mr. Churchill and his friends) to save face, even if it meant dragging their country and Empire into financial ruin. Others pragmatically argued that there could be no compromise with Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. But did Britain's leaders in fact believe this? Dr. Bernd Martin of Freiburg University has revealed the extent to which secret negotiations on peace continued between Britain and Germany in October 1939 and long after—negotiations on which, curiously, Mr. Churchill's files have officially been sealed until the twenty-first century, and the Cabinet records blanked out. Similar negotiations were carried on in June 1940, when even Mr. Churchill showed himself momentarily willing in Cabinet meetings to deal with Hitler if the price was right.

Of course, in assessing the real value of such negotiations and of Hitler's publicly stated intentions it is salutary to know that on June 2, 1941, he admitted to Walther Hewel: "For myself personally I would never tell a lie; but there is no falsehood I would not perpetrate for Germany's sake!" Nevertheless one wonders how much suffering might have been spared if both sides had pursued the negotiations—might all that happened after 1940, the saturation bombing, the population movements, the epidemics, even the Holocaust itself, have been avoided? Great are the questions, yet modern

historiography has chosen to ignore the possibility, calling it heresy.

The facts revealed here concerning Hitler's recorded actions, motivations, and opinions should provide a basis for fresh debate. Americans will find much that is new about the months leading up to Pearl Harbor. The French will find additional evidence that Hitler's treatment of their defeated nation was more influenced by memories of France's treatment of Germany after World War I than by his respect for Mussolini's desires. Russians can try to visualize the prospect that could conceivably have unfolded if Stalin had accepted Hitler's offer in November 1940 of inclusion in the Axis Pact; or if, having achieved his "second Brest-Litovsk" peace treaty (as momentarily proposed on June 28, 1941) Stalin would have accepted Hitler's condition that he rebuild Soviet military power only beyond the Urals; or if Hitler had taken seriously Stalin's alleged peace offer of September 1944.

What is the result of these twenty years' toiling in the archives? Hitler will remain an enigma, however hard we burrow. Even his intimates realized that they hardly knew him. I have already quoted Ribbentrop's puzzlement; but General Alfred Jodl, his closest strategic adviser, also wrote in his Nuremberg cell on March 10, 1946:

> . . . But then I ask myself, did you ever really know this man at whose side you led such a thorny and ascetic existence? Did he perhaps just trifle with your idealism too, abusing it for dark purposes which he kept hidden deep within himself? Dare you claim to know a man, if he has not opened up the deepest recesses of his heart to you—in sorrow as well as in ecstasy? To this very day I do not know what he thought or knew or really wanted. I only knew my own thoughts and suspicions. And if, now that the shrouds fall away from a sculpture we fondly hoped would be a work of art, only to reveal nothing but a degenerate gargoyle—then let future historians argue among themselves whether it was like that from the start, or changed with circumstances.
>
> I keep making the same mistake: I blame his humble origins. But then I remember how many peasants' sons have been blessed by History with the name, The Great.

"Hitler the Great"? No, contemporary History is unlikely to swallow such an epithet. From the first day that he "seized power," January 30, 1933, Hitler knew that only sudden death awaited him if he failed to restore pride and empire to post-

Versailles Germany. His close friend and adjutant Julius Schaub recorded Hitler's jubilant boast to his staff on that evening, as the last celebrating guests left the Berlin Chancellery building: "No power on earth will get me out of this building alive!"

History saw this prophecy fulfilled, as the handful of remaining Nazi faithfuls trooped uneasily into his underground study on April 30, 1945, surveyed his still-warm remains—slouched on a couch, with blood trickling from the sagging lower jaw, and a gunshot wound in the right temple—and sniffed the bitter-almonds smell hanging in the air. Wrapped in a gray army blanket, he was carried up to the shell-blasted Chancellery garden. Gasoline was slopped over him in a reeking crater and ignited while his staff hurriedly saluted and backed down into the shelter. Thus ended the six years of Hitler's War. We shall now see how they began.

—David Irving
London, January 1976
and January 1989

Notes

1. CSDIC (UK) report SRGG.1133, March 9, 1945, in Public Records Office, London, file WO.208/4169.
2. Matthias Schmidt, *Albert Speer: The End of a Myth* (New York, 1984).
3. In fact Hitler's *father* was the illegitimate son of Maria Anna Schicklgruber. Nazi newspapers were repeatedly, e.g., on December 16, 1939, forbidden to speculate on his ancestry. Werner Maser states in *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP* (Bonn, 1965) that on August 4, 1942, Heinrich Himmler had instructed the Gestapo to investigate the Führer's parentage; their bland findings were graded merely *geheim* (secret). The document quoted above is, however, stamped with the highest classification, *Geheime Reichssache* (top secret).
4. Brüning's 1943 manuscript is in the Dorothy Thompson collection of the George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University, New York. His letter to Daniel Longwell, editor of *Life*, dated February 7, 1948, is in Longwell's papers in the Butler Library, Columbia University, New York.
5. First session of Reich Research Council, July 6, 1942; a stenographic record is in Milch documents, vol. 58, pp. 3640ff.
6. Cf. Benno Müller-Hill, *Tödliche Wissenschaft. Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken 1933-45* (Rowohlt, Hamburg), p. 107.
7. The most spine-chilling account of the plundering and methodical mass murder of these Jews at Riga is in CSDIC (UK) report SRGG.1158 (in file WO.208/4169 of the Public Record Office): Major General Walther Bruns, an eyewitness, describes it to fellow generals in British captivity on April 25, 1945, unaware that hidden microphones are recording every word. Of particular significance: his qualms about bringing what he had seen to the Führer's attention, and the latter's renewed orders that such mass murders were to stop forthwith.
8. On which, see the fine doctoral dissertation by Henri Roques: "Les 'confessions' de Kurt Gerstein. Etude comparative des différentes versions," submitted at the University of Nantes, France, in June 1985. This reveals the extent to which previous historians had been deceived by the various versions of the "report." Such was the outcry aroused that Roques was stripped of his doctoral degree! I have ensured that his 372-page thesis is freely available in the Irving Collection at the Institute of Contemporary History, Munich. [The Roques thesis has been translated and published in English by the Institute for Historical Review. —Ed.]

9. "Hitler and the Genesis of the Final Solution, an Assessment of David Irving's Thesis," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* No. 25, 1977, pp. 739-75; republished without correction in *Aspects of the Third Reich* (ed. H.W. Koch, Macmillan, New York, 1985) pp. 390-429, and in *Yad Vashem Studies,* No. 13, 1979, pp. 73-125, and yet again, still uncorrected, in *Nach Hitler: Der schwierige Umgang mit unserer Geschichte* (Oldenburg, 1988); and extensively quoted by Charles W. Sydnor in "The Selling of Adolf Hitler," in *Central European History,* No. 12, 1979, pp. 169-99, 402-5.

[This revised introduction to the new American edition of *Hitler's War* has been published with the author's permission. The new edition of *Hitler's War* is available for purchase from the Institute for Historical Review.]

The Trail of the Desert Fox: Rommel Revised

DAVID IRVING

(Paper presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference)

Finding out what was the truth about Rommel means finding out what was going on in his brain. And to do that, you're not going to get much wiser if you look at the movies with James Mason and the books written by the British and American historians and biographers after the war. Because, what have they had to go on? During my research in the archives, particularly on the Adolf Hitler biography, on which I worked for thirty years, I found that Rommel had written a large number of letters to his wife, Lucie.

What sort of career did Rommel have in the German Army? During World War I, he was a lieutenant in the German infantry, fighting the Italians in the Alps around Venezia Giulia. He fought very well, but much to his outrage, he found that he wasn't decorated with Germany's highest World War I decoration, the famous Blue Max, the Pour le Mérite, the blue enamel cross worn on a ribbon around the neck. Lieutenant Schörner, later Field Marshal Schörner, won the medal, and Rommel thought that he should have got it. Then Rommel did the unthinkable: he appealed. He wrote letters to every successive higher command and headquarters demanding an identical medal for himself. Eventually he got the Pour le Mérite in this rather unorthodox way, and he was very proud thereby to join the ranks of legendary heroes of World War I like Ernst Udet, Manfred von Richthofen, and Hermann Göring.

Rommel's acquisition of the Blue Max put him a cut above most of his fellow officers in the interwar years, particularly

since Rommel, unlike a lot of his contemporaries, had never gone through the German General Staff. It is very important to know this, because it has a bearing on his last days. Rommel was not a general staff officer, although he rose to the highest rank in Germany short of Reichsmarschall: Field Marshal. He had little book learning, he had none of the knowledge of logistics, the build-up, the sense of time and space that a general staff officer acquires when he learns how to conduct successful battles. Rommel won his battles by other means, he did the unexpected. But this earned for him a lot of envy and a lot of distaste among the officer corps. It's rather like those who have been to West Point and those who haven't in this country. The word rivalry isn't strong enough. There's an element of mutual distrust between the insiders and the outsiders.

Rommel was to remain all his life, until the bitter end, an outsider. The more successful he was in World War I, the more successful he was between the wars (he was one of the exalted few who stayed in the German professional army war to war), the more military triumphs he won in World War II, the more he was envied and resented by the generals and officers who had served on the German General Staff.

He had paid no attention to politics during the interwar years. He was part of the 100,000-man German Army allowed by the Treaty of Versailles. In the aftermath of the Nazis' seizure of power in 1933, he remained in the army, continuing to hold a comparatively low rank. In 1934 he was still a major, commanding a Jägerbataillon, a kind of light infantry battalion, in Goslar when Adolf Hitler paid his first visit there, in connection with the annual harvest festival. A surviving photograph shows Major Rommel escorting his Führer with drawn sword, wearing a massive coal scuttle helmet, in the grounds of the Goslar castle.

Something about Rommel must have attracted Hitler's attention, because in 1936 Hitler put him in charge of security arrangements at the Nuremberg party rally, which Rommel did very well. When the usual gaggle of Gauleiters tried to follow Hitler in their motorcars when he drove off, Hitler told Rommel to make sure that no more than six cars followed him. Rommel obtained privacy for his Führer by planting two tanks across the road until the Führer had driven out of sight.

Two years later, when Hitler marched into the Sudeten territories, and in 1939 when Hitler entered Prague, Rommel was right at his side: Hitler had appointed him commandant of the military escort which traveled with the Führer's Headquarters. Because he was the officer in charge of Hitler's railway train he obtained a proximity to Hitler which most general staff officers didn't. Hitler, the Austrian, and Rommel, the Swabian, somehow got on well with one another, and they talked a great deal. Rommel was able to write letters back to Lucie saying, "Today I had lunch with the Führer again and I had some very interesting discussions with him about tactics."

Erwin Rommel used the influence he won through these close contacts with Hitler very cleverly. After the invasion of Poland, during which he accompanied Hitler to Warsaw, Rommel saw that commanding the Führer's headquarters wasn't going to win him any medals. Career army officer that he was, Rommel needed medals: his colleagues from the infantry college and the training academies were coming back from the Polish front with new decorations, and he wanted his own. Rommel asked Hitler for command of a division.When the Führer asked him what kind, Rommel told him: a panzer division, the créme de la créme. So great was mutual respect and admiration between the two that Hitler readily agreed.

Hitler was right! Because Hitler had somehow identified in Rommel a typical, thrusting armored commander who would succeed where the slow, hesitant, prevaricating general staff officers would hesitate, and fumble, and fail. So Rommel got the Seventh Armored Division, and he spent the next few months training it for the campaign against France. He developed new tactics, he devised new methods of using armor en masse. Rommel read everything there was to read about armored warfare tactics: the works of men like Liddell Hart and General J.F.C. Fuller and of course General Charles De Gaulle. Although he'd never been in a tank in his life before, he climbed into one and was delighted by its power and mobility. He felt invulnerable.

In fact, Rommel was the ideal commander, because in a way he was invulnerable. He had that rare, almost magical spirit. He could stand on top of a railway embankment in full view of the enemy artillery, in full view of the enemy infantry, with machine gun fire thudding into the embankment all around him, or with shells crashing down one or two yards away,

killing his adjutant, in the French campaign, and remain untouched. Rommel, like Hitler himself, had a kind of magical quality that protected him in some way from harm, from the enemy, that in turn engendered an enormous loyalty among their followers: the men who served under Rommel swore by him.

In the French campaign, Rommel led his division at breakneck speed right through to the Channel coast, then down to Cherbourg. During the summer that followed, the German Army put him in charge of producing a propaganda film called *Victory in the West*, in which his troops re-staged their campaign against France: he was able to persuade Moroccan French troops to die gallantly for the cameras.

When the choice came, in the winter of 1940-1941, to send a commander to North Africa to help bail Mussolini out of his predicament there, Hitler, as he later said, found himself confronted with two or three names: Manstein, who had greatly impressed him in the French campaign; or Eduard Dietl, who had impressed him in the Narvik campaign in Norway; or Rommel. Hitler saw Manstein as a general staff officer lacking in the inspirational force of either Rommel or Dietl. Hitler said, "I picked Rommel because he knows how to *inspire* his troops, just like Dietl up in Narvik. This is absolutely essential for the commander of a force that has to fight under particularly arduous climatic conditions as in North Africa or the Arctic."

Rommel was ordered to bring a light infantry division (the 5th) down to North Africa in February-March 1941. Rommel's troops sneaked into North Africa behind the Italian position in Tripoli just as the British advance right across the North African Mediterranean coastline was entering Tripoli. If the British forces had entered Tripoli and thrown the Italians out of their Libyan colony at that point, it would have produced very severe repercussions for Germany's ally.

At this fateful moment, however, Winston Churchill, who still had no idea that Rommel had gone down to North Africa with his forces, wavered: he ordered vital components of the British forces in North Africa off to a hopeless campaign in Greece instead. Thus the British offensive faltered just before Tripoli, giving Rommel time to get established. Now, Rommel's instructions from the Italian High Command and from Berlin were that he should not in any circumstances

launch an offensive against the British; he was to build up a purely defensive line at such and such a point and to proceed no further to the east.

About that time we British began reading that particular code and realized to our horror that not only were the Germans there but that General Rommel was in command—we had already come up against him at Dunkirk. So Rommel already meant something to us at that time. But we knew that Rommel was under orders on no account to launch an offensive, and we believed that a German general would obey orders. So we were quite happily sitting back with our arms folded when he attacked, totally disobeying orders. Rommel cut right across Cyrenaica, cut off thirty or forty thousand British troops, capturing three British generals in a week's time, one of his most glorious and gallant exploits. Within a few weeks he had come almost as far the Egyptian frontier.

Rommel had restored the Italians' pride, and he had made it plain to Adolf Hitler that with a little more effort the Axis could in fact capture the whole of Egypt, advance across the Suez Canal, come up through the Middle East and join hands with the offensive which he was at that time planning against Russia. Rommel might join forces somewhere in the Middle East with forces coming down through the Caucasus: for Hitler Rommel had opened up new vistas, and became the Führer's favorite general.

From mid-1941 on, Rommel's face was on the front cover of every German illustrated magazine and on the front cover of quite a few Allied newspapers and magazines as well. There's a reason for this: to explain our setbacks, our failures and our reverses in North Africa we British had to represent that we were against a superhuman force who couldn't be stopped, namely General Rommel. Later on, of course, when the tables were turned at El Alamein, we wanted to build up our enemy again to make out that we hadn't defeated just anybody, we had defeated the unstoppable General Rommel. Our own propaganda built him up to an unstoppable, brilliant, tactically sound German general, more than a match for any American, more than a match for any British general—but we would defeat him somehow. Such was the tone of the stories that filled the British newspapers from 1941 through to 1943.

November 1942 saw the first crisis of confidence between Rommel and Hitler. At that time, after the British offensive at El Alamein, Rommel experienced something of a nervous breakdown. He couldn't understand why he wasn't getting the oil and the supplies and the ammunition he needed to defeat Montgomery. He didn't realize that he was his own undoing, because he was constantly radioing back to Berlin asking when he was going to get more oil and ammunition and supplies, and telling the High Command that the morale of his troops was at the breaking point. Berlin would radio back saying inquiries had been made of the Italian authorities and the supertanker *Proserpina*, for example, was leaving Naples harbor and would arrive at Tobruk three days later.

But of course we were reading the messages, we British were reading all these code signals! So we'd have submarines waiting outside the harbors and every single ship that was sent out to Rommel with oil or with ammunition was being sunk, and he grew more and more desperate. And we know that in the battle of El Alamein, which began on October 23, 1942, Rommel was in such a desperate position that he said he couldn't hold out for more than a few days.

But Montgomery was in an even more desperate condition. The British commander, Field Marshall Montgomery, sent a telegram to Winston Churchill on October 25 saying, "I think we're going to have to pull back. My offensive has failed." And at that moment he was told by the British code-breakers on a secure line, "Hold on, because we know from Rommel that he can only hold out for two days himself. He's collapsing under your weight."

So Rommel, in a sense, was his own undoing. Because of his garrulousness on what he thought were secure coded transmissions, he was his own undoing. His oil ships were sunk, and he ended up being hounded across North Africa. Rommel's retreat was an amazing military feat, it is true: he had Montgomery's entire Eighth Army after him, and yet he managed to rescue two or three hundred thousand German and Italian troops and bring them all the way across the North African coastline to Tunisia, where he formed a new bridgehead after the loss of very few men and hardly any of his equipment, an incredible feat of generalship. It illustrates what a poor general Montgomery actually was. He repeatedly tried to outflank Rommel and take him from behind, arriving

again and again only to find that the bird had already flown.

Like Churchill, Adolf Hitler realized that the name Rommel was worth a lot. When Rommel fell ill after arriving in Tunisia, when it was quite plain that the German forces were going to be defeated, Hitler arranged for Rommel to be evacuated back to the continental mainland, but nobody was told. The public was left in the belief that Rommel was still there in the pocket, fighting on. His name fought on, even though the general himself had been evacuated to safety.

On his return to Germany Rommel regarded himself, as we know from his diaries and his letters, a failure. For six months he slouched around Berlin in plain clothes, wearing a trilby hat, unrecognized by the Berlin population out of his famous uniform. He hankered after a new job.

In October 1943 the Field Marshal von Rundstedt, the German Commander-in-Chief West, sent a report to Adolf Hitler on the weakness of the defenses against an Allied landing in France, causing Adolf Hitler to take serious note of the problem for the first time. He realized that something had to be done quickly, because the failure to secure a rapid victory over Russia meant that the Germans had to count on meeting the full weight of the British and the American troops in the West. A landing was going to come somewhere, and Hitler was convinced it would be in France. It was time to put a tough tactical commander in charge of strengthening the Atlantic Wall. On November 5, 1943 Hitler sent for Field Marshal Erwin Rommel.

Hitler let Rommel know that although he would be under Field Marshal Rundstedt, the commander-in-chief, the moment the British and Americans set foot on the coast of France Rommel would be in tactical command of the Battle of France. Thus he told Rommel, in effect, "I'm giving you a last chance of glory. You've lost Libya, you've lost North Africa for the Italians, and now we've got the worst possible problems in Italy: the Italians have defected, they've come out on the Allied side against us. And effectively we have you to thank for that, Field Marshall Rommel. If we were still fighting in North Africa, the Italians wouldn't have defected. However, I am such a friend of yours that I am going to give you this one last chance of glory."

From November 1943 on, we see in Rommel's private letters his conviction that he is going to pull it off, that he is going to

defeat the Allied invasion and win victory for Hitler in France. He writes to Lucie: "I am convinced of victory. Every morning I get up and I look in the mirror and I think to myself, 'There's no way we can fail.' Every week that passes we strengthen our invasion defenses."

Rommel ordered gigantic pointed stakes driven into the beaches all along the French coast. The stakes themselves were spiked with mines. Immense minefields, containing millions of mines, were sown in a broad belt along the French coastline. The whole of a coastal belt was evacuated of people, towns were leveled to the ground to provide a field of fire for the guns, new guns were emplaced, huge areas were prepared for flooding the moment the Allies set foot on the French coastline: Rommel did in fact what the German General Staff should have been doing for three years, but hadn't. For three years they'd been in France, and for three years they had done virtually nothing.

Rommel put a new spirit into the defenders there. He made it plain that they not only could, but would, defend France and prevent the Anglo-Americans from landing. And Hitler said to him: "You can be sure of one thing, Field Marshall. If we throw the British and the Americans off the beaches, then within two or three weeks I will have pulled out a half dozen or a dozen German Panzer divisions from the battlefield area, and sent them straight back by train to the Eastern Front. We will mop up the Russians, and then the war will be over. So Germany's final victory relies on you, Field Marshal Rommel."

Now, put yourself in Rommel's shoes. You've lost the battle for North Africa—you've lost an entire continent. The Italian allies point the finger at you, Field Marshal Rommel, as responsible for this defeat. You are not going to go down in the history books as Germany's greatest strategic commander unless you can pull a victory out of the hat. And your beloved Führer has given you a chance: the forthcoming battle of France. You are not, under these circumstances, going to make common cause with the traitors who are plotting against Adolf Hitler at this time, because if you do, you will not restore your reputation as a great military commander. This is one reason why all indications are that Rommel was not a traitor. During the spring and summer of 1944, he was doing everything he could to prepare his forces in France for a victorious battle when the invasion came.

Then something happened in April 1944 which was to change Rommel's life, and in fact hurry on his death. His wife Lucie was by this time a bit of a virago. In the early years she was a lovely thing to look at, by the photographs, but by 1944 she had him under her thumb. Unfortunately, she had picked a fight with the wife of her husband's chief of staff, General Alfred Gause, so Gause had to go. Thus at the beginning of April, 1944 Rommel replaced Alfred Gause, who'd been his chief of staff throughout the entire North African campaign, with an educated, piano-playing, general staff officer by the name of General Hans Speidel.

All my books, ladies and gentlemen, have a villain, and the villain of the Rommel piece is Hans Speidel, who later rose to become supreme commander of NATO land forces in Europe. So with a certain relish I reveal in *The Trail of the Fox* what I found out about him and about his role in Rommel's death. Speidel arrived to take command of Rommel's staff on April 1, 1944. He came directly from Hitler's headquarters, where Hitler had given him the Ritterkreuz—the Knight's Cross—for his work as the chief of staff of the Eighth Army on the Eastern Front.

Speidel was an intellectually gifted man, a very clever man, but he was also up to his neck in the anti-Hitler plot. He was plotting Hitler's overthrow—and Rommel didn't know it. In fact, if you look closely at the Army side of the anti-Hitler plot, you find how much it was very much a plot of chiefs of staff, people like Stauffenberg, who was the chief of staff of General Fromm, and so on. It was the chiefs of staff who were plotting, without their superiors really knowing what was going on, and it was the chiefs of staff who would later accuse their superiors of leading the plot. That's exactly what we'll find is going to happen with Field Marshal Rommel.

While Speidel and his associates were plotting, Field Marshal Rommel was immersed in preparing France for the coming Allied invasion. As we learn from his diaries, he drove to inspect the coastal defenses nearly every day.

But Rommel was in a dilemma as to where the invasion would strike. On the one hand there was Adolf Hitler, who on March 20, 1944 had told him and the other commanders from the West whom he had called to the Obersalzberg that the invasion was going to come in one of two places, either in Normandy or close by in Brittany. Hitler said he was almost

certain the Allies were going to invade Normandy, and of course he was quite right. Whereas the General Staff said, "My Führer, it's not going to come in Normandy at all, it's going to come at Pas de Calais. That's the shortest route. Have a look at the map, my Führer. It's only 20 miles."

In other words, the German general staff was telling him that the British and the Americans were going to come the shortest possible route, then head straight for the Ruhr. And Hitler was saying, "No, they won't do that, they'll take the indirect route. They'll seize Cherbourg first, they'll use the Cotentin Peninsula as a landing base."

So Rommel was torn between reinforcing the Seventh Army, as the Führer had ordered, and reinforcing the Fifteenth Army in the Pas de Calais, as the General Staff's Speidel and the German High Command were instructing.

Around June 1944, the anti-Hitler plotters in Paris decided it was time to try and win over some big names for the putsch. They sent Lieutenant Colonel Cesar von Hofacker, adjutant to General Karl Heinrich von Stülpnagel, the military governor of France, to have a chat with Rommel on July 9, 1944. In fact, after Hofacker had gone back to Paris, Rommel turned to his staff and said, "Strange chap. What was he after? Couldn't make head or tail of him." That's the way an English officer would say it, but that's exactly what Rommel said to his staff.

For Hofacker had been very worried. He was only a lieutenant-colonel in the German Air Force, yet there he was trying to win over Field Marshal Rommel, one of the top Nazis, one of Hitler's most important generals, for a plot against Hitler.

So in fact Hofacker didn't say anything explicit: he just talked in general terms. But human nature being what it is, when Hofacker went back to Paris, he said to Stülpnagel, the military governor, who was in the plot, "I've won him. *Er ist Feuer und Flamme* (He's fire and flame on our side). I've won Rommel right over. Couldn't hold him back." We know all this, because I know what Stülpnagel said later on.

But one can see how fate is beginning to wind up dark clouds over the future career of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel!

The Allied invasion began on June 6, 1944. I'm not going to go into detail here, ladies and gentlemen, as to how the intelligence on that was fumbled by the Germans. On June 1, 1944, the German intelligence service gave warning that the

invasion would come within 24 hours of the BBC broadcasting a certain message, the second line of a poem from Paul Verlaine. Their intelligence proved to be entirely accurate.

On the night of June 5, 1944, at 9:15 p.m., the BBC was heard broadcasting precisely that line. After Fifteenth Army's intelligence officer learned this from his radio reconnaissance officers, he telephoned Seventh Army's intelligence officer. Seventh Army said, "We don't know what to do. We haven't been told by Rommel's staff at Army Group B." Fifteenth Army telephoned Army Group B, and spoke to Colonel Staubwasser, who was the G-2, or the intelligence officer, of Rommel's staff. Staubwasser took it to Speidel. "Herr General, we've been told that the BBC has broadcast a message which indicates that the invasion is going to start within 24 hours." Speidel said, "Oh, telephone Rundstedt in Paris and ask what he advises." Rundstedt's headquarters in Paris said, "Do nothing." And nothing was done!

Fifteenth Army went onto maximum alert, because it was within its own province to do so. Seventh Army in Normandy remained off the alert. Speidel and his gang were having a little convivial party that evening with some of the anti-Hitler plotters, because the Old Man, Rommel, had gone back home to Germany a couple of days earlier on leave, assured by Berlin that the invasion wasn't imminent.

Rommel had gone back to Germany, Speidel was in charge, and he had invited all the plotters around for an evening's drinking. They had a lot of wine and a lot of cognac that evening. We know that, because I have the private diary of Admiral Ruge, who was the naval officer on Rommel's staff, and he describes in his short and secret diary how they all got drunk that evening at Speidel's headquarters, then went to bed at 1:00 a.m., although the first notices of massive parachute landings in Normandy had already arrived. Speidel said, "Unimportant," and they all went to bed.

Round about 6 a.m., things were beginning to get tense, because they were getting more warnings of parachute landings over the whole of the Normandy area, dummy parachute landings elsewhere, and as the dawn is beginning to rise a huge invasion fleet could be seen on the horizon. Speidel remained unconcerned. Three decades later, I went to see Speidel, and I put all this to him. I said, "Herr Speidel, I've

read the private papers of the commanding general of the Fifteenth Army, General von Salmuth—his widow gave me his diaries—and he describes how on the morning of the 6th of June, at 6:45, the chief of staff of the Fifteenth Army had a telephone conversation with the chief of staff of the Seventh Army down in Normandy, and he was told about the invasion fleet on the horizon. And the Fifteenth Army says to the Seventh Army, "Yes, but have any ships actually hit the beaches? Have any landing craft come?" Answer: "No, they're just on the horizon and they're beginning to open fire on us." "Well, if there's no invasion started yet and there are no landing craft on the beaches this means the invasion has already failed," says the Fifteenth Army. And as General Salmuth writes in his diary, "I thereupon went back to bed."

I read this out to General Speidel at his home in Bonn and said, "Herr General, I assume that you too went back to bed when you got these reports." And he said, "Herr Irving, you may be right." Because in the war diary of Speidel's staff, for three and a half hours there are suddenly no entries at all. They've all gone to bed for three and a half hours between 6 a.m. and 9:15 a.m. that morning, as though nothing at all had happened.

What had happened? What had happened was that a hundred tanks had already landed by the time Speidel got up, a hundred thousand men had hit the beaches, and the Seventh Army was under a colossal onslaught from the initial waves of the Anglo-American invasion. By that time the invasion was virtually impossible to ward off.

Rommel got the news at 10 a.m. that morning at his home in Herrlingen, near Ulm. He had to drive 700 kilometers back to his headquarters. By the time he got there, at 10 o'clock that night, the battle was already lost. He could no longer win it, but he put up a colossal battle. Those who have followed the invasion fighting in Normandy will know the courage that was displayed on both sides. To try and make a breakthrough at Caen, where Montgomery had the job of advancing through the town and establishing a bridgehead beyond it, we sent over a force of 2,000 bombers to bomb a one-mile-square patch of the German front lines. Now, imagine you're a German infantryman, or an anti-aircraft gunner, with an 88-mm gun, manning an anti-tank line and 2,000 enemy bombers come

over and attack a one-mile-square patch of your front line. And yet still the British couldn't get through.

That was Operation Goodwood, in the middle of July 1944. These were the troops that Rommel had trained and put in place. They suffered appalling casualties, but when the bombardment had died down, the surviving German soldiers, many of them young lads of 15, 16, and 17 years old, crawled out of the rubble, re-erected the guns that had been tipped over in the blast, and had them firing before the first British tanks rolled forward. The British just couldn't break through the German lines.

The Americans tried to do the same thing in Operation Cobra at their end of the line, with massive bombardment by Flying Fortresses and Lancasters and Liberators, again, on tiny one-mile-square patches of the German front line—that was the only way they were finally able to break through at the end of July. But in the meantime the following had happened: on the 17th of July, 1944, Rommel was driving in his large, open Horch motorcar (rather like a grand-touring sports car) behind the front lines, when a British Spitfire came down out of the clouds and machine-gunned the road. His driver was killed, the car ran off the road into a ditch, and then crashed into a tree. Rommel was knocked unconscious, seriously injured.

When Rommel came to a day later, he was in a French hospital being looked after by a French medical team. They feared for his life: he had suffered a quadruple skull fracture. A couple of days later, Rommel was evacuated to a rear hospital.

On July 21, Rommel heard for the first time of the attempt on Hitler's life the day before. A German staff officer had left a bomb under Hitler's conference table in East Prussia, then promptly quit the room. Four of Hitler's staff had been killed outright in the blast. Hitler himself, by a miracle, emerged with a few splinters in his arm, a bit bruised and dented but otherwise unscathed. A witch hunt began to find out who had perpetrated this appalling attack.

Now we can say with great certainty that up to the moment of his injury Rommel's fanatical loyalty to Adolf Hitler was unchanged. In his private conversations, which Admiral Ruge wrote down in shorthand in his diary, which I had when I wrote my book *Trail of the Fox*, Rommel continued right up to

the middle of July, even in his private circle of friends, to express the utmost fanatical loyalty to Adolf Hitler. When Admiral Ruge said to him on one occasion, "Wouldn't it be the right thing now to try and make some kind of deal with Montgomery before the big breakthrough comes, do a deal with Montgomery whereby we just open up the Western Front and then advance side by side, shoulder to shoulder with the British and the Americans on Berlin and throw the Russians back?" Rommel told him, "Well, I'm convinced this is going to be the ultimate solution, but I am also certain of one thing: the Führer is a genius and a man of sound political instincts, so he ought to be able to hit on the right decision himself."

Now a man who says that on July 14, 1944 is not a man who knows anything at all about a bomb being put under that genius's table just six days later. But you won't find these quotations in other people's biographies of Rommel, because they just haven't done the work. They haven't found these diaries.

When Rommel was told about the attempt on Hitler's life, suddenly the scales fell from his eyes. "The crazy lunatics! What on earth are they up to! Killing the Führer! They must have been out of their minds!" he cried.

And when General Speidel comes to see him, stricken with a guilty conscience, of course, a couple of days later still, Rommel turns angrily to Speidel and says, "I now understand what that guy Hofacker was talking about! I now understand what he was getting at! They must have been out of their minds." "Well," he says, "I'm glad I had nothing at all to do with it."

That, however, was not the perception in Hitler's headquarters, because Hofacker was arrested almost immediately after the bomb plot. Somebody talked. The only way the Luftwaffe lieutenant colonel saw to save his skin was to play Scheherezade. He began singing, he started telling tales on every name he can imagine. Every time they were just about to take him off and hang him, Hofacker would say, "Wait, there's a few more people I can mention, if you'll give me a couple of more days."

So Hofacker was singing. And on August 1, 1944 Adolf Hitler sent for General Jodl, the chief of the German Armed Forces Operations Staff (I've got his diary):

> 5 p.m. The Führer has read out to me the report that Kaltenbrunner now has about the testimony of Lieutenant Colonel Hofacker on his talks with K. and R. [K. = Field Marshal Günther Hans von Kluge, the new Commander-in-Chief West who has replaced Rundstedt only a few weeks earlier; R. = Rommel.] The Führer says he's going to look for a new Commander-in-Chief West. He's going to have R. questioned after his convalescence, and then he's going to retire him without any further fuss.

Interesting—the old friends, Rommel and Hitler. Hitler didn't want anything unpleasant to happen to Rommel. He was going to question him about his involvement in the July 20 plot, and then retire him without any further fuss.

But things didn't go like that, because Hofacker continued to talk. In further testimony, Hofacker stated, "When I went to see Rommel, he couldn't be restrained. He said, 'Tell your gentlemen in Berlin that when the time comes they can count on me.'" All of which was totally untrue.

General Stülpnagel, the military governor of France, reported precisely the same thing. Stülpnagel had been fetched by the Gestapo from Paris and called back to Germany for questioning. As he crossed the German frontier, he shot himself in the eye. But his attempt at suicide failed: he had merely blinded himself. With sufficient blood transfusions, he was brought back, a rather pathetic figure, to Germany. There he was subjected to Gestapo interrogation. Stülpnagel said he understood that Rommel was on their side, that Rommel was part of the plot.

You see, the tendency, ladies and gentlemen, is these people know that unless they play their cards very carefully, they're for the hangman, and the only way they can save themselves is to say, "Well, if they're going to hang me, there are one or two people who are going to hang too. How about Field Marshal Kluge? How about the big one, Field Marshal Rommel?" And this is an awkward one for the Germans, for Hitler, because he can't really hang Rommel. So he picks up everybody else: he picks up Kluge's chief of staff, Günther Blumentritt, who seems to have known of the plot—and then again he doesn't seem to have known of the plot.

Then, on September 4, 1944, he has our arch villain, Hans Speidel, picked up and arrested by the Gestapo for questioning. Speidel also sings like a canary. It's very interesting: if I go to the National Archives now, ladies and

gentlemen, and say I want to see the Gestapo interrogations, the famous Kaltenbrunner reports, on the people of the twentieth of July, they'll give me a whole fistful of the reports of the interrogations of everybody who was unimportant, but the interrogations of Speidel and Heusinger and the German generals who became top NATO generals are not in the files anymore, they've vanished, you can't see them any more.

But I know what Speidel said, because one of the documents that General Heinrich Kirchheim's widow gave me was a report from General Kirchheim, who sat on the Court of Honor, which was held by the German Army to consider the case of Hans Speidel and the other alleged conspirators. You see, in trying to preserve its traditional privileges after the appalling catastrophe of the twentieth of July, which was a terrible blot on the name of the German Army, the German Army said, "Well, at least let us try our own criminals. Before these people are to be turned over to the People's Court to be tried and hanged, let the German Army try them first to decide whether they are worthy of being put on trial, to see whether there is a case to answer."

The Court of Honor, in the case of Hans Speidel, met on October 4, 1944. I know exactly what happened there because the one of the German generals who sat on the army's Court of Honor was General Heinrich Kirchheim (the others were General Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, the chief of the High Command, who presided; General Guderian, the famous Panzer commander; Field Marshal Rundstedt; and two others [Kriebel and Schroth]).

Kirchheim was a staff officer who had already rubbed Rommel the wrong way in the North Africa campaign of 1941. He didn't really like Rommel, but he wrote an account of the Court of Honor in his private papers. Kirchheim writes that the prosecution, which was directed by Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the chief of the Gestapo, said that Speidel had admitted under testimony that he knew in advance of the plot on Hitler's life, but that Speidel also claimed that Hofacker, who had come and told him about the plot on Hitler's life, had informed him that he—Speidel—had done the proper thing by reporting it to his superior, Field Marshall Rommel. "At this," writes Kirchheim in his report, "an embarrassed silence fell on the Court (*beklommenes Schweigen*)."

An embarrassed silence because they realized that either they were going to have to exonerate Rommel or exonerate Speidel—one or the other. If Speidel was telling the truth, he had done his duty and reported it to Rommel. Rommel had told nobody. If Speidel was lying, then Rommel was in the clear. They decided that the correct thing to do was to ask for further inquiries to be made in the case of Speidel. And in that way they saved Speidel's life, effectively, because his case was then put on the back burner, but at that moment the problems for Rommel started.

This is quite plain. Rommel already had problems. With a quadruple skull fracture, he'd been evacuated back to a hospital in Germany, and he became gradually aware of the rumors and the whispers going around that he was supposed to have been involved in the twentieth of July. Gestapo cars were shadowing him.

When he went walking in the fields with his son Manfred, who is now the Lord Mayor of Stuttgart, he would take a loaded gun with him. He would also take along, in his inside breast pocket, a fistful of papers, copies of telegrams which he sent to the High Command during the battle of France, to show how he pleaded for reinforcements, and how he had pleaded for reinforcements even before the invasion of Normandy.

For Rommel thought that the problem building up around his name was not so much connected with the twentieth of July, because he knew he was in the clear—he had known nothing about it—but that he was going to be made the fallguy, the scapegoat for the collapse in France. Just in case he was arrested there, walking with his son in the fields, he wanted to have the papers in his pocket so that he could defend himself in the court martial when the time comes. The Normandy dossier: he carried it with him at all times, so he told Manfred.

On October 1, when Rommel found out that Speidel, not only his chief of staff, but a Swabian like himself and a close friend, had been arrested, he sat down and wrote a letter to his Führer, Adolf Hitler. I found this letter among the private papers of Helmut Lang, his Ordonnanz [personal aide], and I'll read out one or two paragraphs, because it shows again that Rommel was totally in the dark about the twentieth of July, and that he was an upright, decent man who, even at this

moment, did what he could to protect Speidel, regardless of what was happening, regardless of what Speidel was saying about him, and regardless of what Speidel would eventually do to help kill him.

"My Führer," wrote Rommel on the first of October, 1944:

> Unfortunately my state of health is not as good as I would have wished: the quadruple skull fracture, the unfavorable turn of events in the West since my injury, and not least the dismissal and arrest of my own former chief of staff, Lt. General Speidel, of which I learned only by chance, have all placed an intolerable burden on my nerves. I just don't feel capable of putting up with any kind of fresh burden. General Speidel was attached to me in the middle of April 1944 as the successor to Lt. General Gause as my chief of staff. He was warmly recommended by Col. General Zeitzler and his previous army commander, Infantry General Wöhler. Shortly before he arrived at Army Group B, he received from you personally the Knight's Cross, and he was promoted to Lieutenant General. In the West, Speidel in the very first weeks showed himself to be a remarkably capable and energetic chief of general staff. He ran a tight ship, showed much understanding for the troops, and loyally helped me to get the Atlantic Wall ready for the invasion battle as rapidly as possible with the means available. When I drove to the front—which was almost every day—I could rely on Speidel to transmit my orders to the armies as arranged between us beforehand, and to deal with superior and equivalent echelons as I would have myself.

Then he goes on:

> Unfortunately it proved impossible to fight the defense of Normandy [because that's what he's worried about, the fact that he's going to be made the scapegoat —D.I.] so that the enemy could be destroyed while still afloat or at the latest while setting foot on land. I set out the reasons for this in the attached letter of July 3, which General Schmundt no doubt showed you at the time.

In the final paragraph Rommel writes:

> Up to the day of my injury, July 17, Speidel was always at my side, and Field Marshal Kluge, Commander-in-Chief West, also seems to have been very satisfied with him. I cannot imagine what can possibly have resulted in Lieutenant Speidel's dismissal and arrest.

His final words are:

> You, my Führer, know how I have always done everything in my power and capabilities, whether in the Western campaign of 1940, or in Africa 1941/1943, or in Italy in 1943 or again in the West in 1944. I've had only one thought uppermost in my mind, always, to fight and win victories for your new Germany.

The last letter we have from Rommel to Hitler—I have quoted it in full in my book—is a very interesting letter.

A few days later Rommel was told that he's got to turn up in Berlin for questioning. He didn't understand what was going on. He was still seriously ill: he had been unable to sleep for months because of the skull fractures. He sent back a message to the Army Personnel Office saying, "I'm afraid I can't come. I've an appointment with my specialists on the tenth, and they say I mustn't make long journeys in my condition."

Finally, on October 12, Hitler sent for Field Marshal Keitel, the chief of the German High Command, and dictated for him a letter from Keitel to Rommel, which ran as follows:

> Field Marshal Rommel, you will see from the enclosed testimonies of General Speidel, General Stülpnagel, and Lieutenant Colonel Hofacker that you have been incriminated in the attempt on the Führer's life. You alone can know whether this is genuine or not, whether there is any truth to these allegations or not. If you consider you are innocent, it is up to you to come to Berlin and answer eventually to the People's Court. If you know that you cannot put up a defense, then you as a German officer know what is the best thing for you to do.

There's a very clear hint what he's got to do.

Keitel sent for two German Army personnel officers, General Burgdorf and General Maisel, the head of the Personnel Office and his deputy, and says: "Carry this letter down to Rommel and show it to him and tell him what he's got to do."

The two German officers arrived at lunchtime on October 14. Rommel knew the generals from the Personnel Office were coming, because they had telephoned on the day before. Optimistic, as he sometimes was, he thought they might be going to discuss with him a new army group command, perhaps, the Kurland or somewhere else on the Eastern Front. But the pessimist in him said, "It might just be bad news. It might be that now they're going to call me in for questioning over the collapse in France."

"Have that Normandy dossier ready, Aldinger," he told his adjutant. "I may need it." And he awaited the arrival of the two generals at lunchtime.

They arrive in a very small, modest car. Rommel doesn't know it, but his funeral wreath has already arrived, that morning at the local railroad station. He doesn't know it, but for twenty miles around every Autobahn has been sealed off to prevent his escape. The two German generals come in. Rommel invites them for lunch, but they tell him, "No, we can't stay for lunch. This is business."

Rommel, rather shocked, invites them into the smoking room and says, "How can I help the gentlemen?" By way of answer General Burgdorf hands to him the letter which tells him that he has been accused of complicity in the plot on the Führer's life in the testimony of Speidel, Hofacker, and Stülpnagel. Rommel learns the two courses open to him: to face the People's Court if he is innocent, or to carry out his duty as an officer if he cannot answer the charges.

What can Rommel do at this time? What are the thoughts that go through his sleep-wracked, fractured skull, his tortured, painful brain? He could only have thought to himself, "This is the end. I can't really go to Berlin and say I knew nothing about the Führer plot, nothing about the attempt on his life, I knew nothing about this treachery—all I was planning to do in discussions with my colleagues and my staff was possibly to open up the Western Front and make common cause with Montgomery and Eisenhower and march against the Russians. I can't do that! If I do that, I'm a dead man anyway. My life is over! If I admit that I knew about the plot, then I can save General Speidel's life—my good friend Speidel."

It's ironic, isn't it.

So in that moment Rommel makes a quite admirable decision, the most upright and honest decision that any German general has taken, certainly, in World War II. He turns to General Burgdorf and he says, "*Jawohl, ich habe mich vergessen* (Yes, I must have forgotten myself.). It's all true."

Burgdorf then says, "If you now do as an officer would have to do under the circumstances, the Führer makes the following guarantee to you: A state funeral as a great hero. The German public and the world will be told that you have died from your injuries received in the strafing attack in July.

Even your wife will not be told the truth. Nobody will ever find out—you have the Führer's word for that."

And in fact Hitler kept his word, as has been subsequently found out.

Rommel says, "But I can't shoot myself."

Burgdorf says, "Oh, no, no! You mustn't shoot yourself—we can have no damage to your skull, nothing that will show. We've brought a substance with us that works in twenty seconds."

Rommel says, "Can I take leave of my wife and son?" And they grant him that request, and he goes upstairs to see his wife Lucie, who's lying in bed, and he says to Lucie—we know this because Lucie wrote a graphic account of it, in an affidavit subsequently, when she was trying to establish what had actually happened:

> It's extraordinary. Speidel, Stülpnagel, and Hofacker have said that I was involved in the plot of the twentieth of July. They said that if it hadn't been for my head injury, I would have been put in command. I have no possible salvation. So in twenty minutes I will be dead.

Manfred, his son, at that time fifteen years old, comes into the room, bustling in and rather puzzled by the extraordinary atmosphere he finds between mother and father. And the father says the same to Manfred. Manfred and Rommel, the field marshal, leave the bedroom together and go downstairs and Rommel puts on his great leather topcoat and walks out into the garden followed by General Burgdorf and General Maisel. Manfred still can't understand what is happening. Rommel, putting on his coat, finds he's got the housekeys and his wallet in his pockets. He takes the wallet out and gives it to his son and takes the housekeys out and gives these to his son as well and says, "I don't need these any more."

Rommel climbs into the back seat of the little car and the two other generals pile in beside him. They shut the doors. Manfred stays outside. Rommel, the field marshal, sitting inside, winds down the window, and says to Manfred, "Manfred, look after Frau Speidel. I don't think I've managed to save her husband."

The car drives off down the lane. It drives off down the lane a couple of hundred yards—we know this because I've got the eyewitness account written immediately afterwards by the SS corporal who was driving the car—a corporal from the

Führer's motor pool in Berlin, named Heinrich Doose. Heinrich Doose said, "We drove down the road a couple of hundred yards and then Burgdorf tapped me on the shoulder and told me to stop the car and get out. Then he told me to go for a walk for five minutes. When I came back," writes Doose, "I found Field Marshal Rommel slumped on the back seat of the car. He wasn't groaning—he was sobbing (*Schluchzend*). I sat him upright, but his hat had fallen off, so I put his hat back on again."

And thus died Field Marshal Rommel. He died a hero, really, to the last moment of his life. He had fought his battles cleanly. He had always preferred to fight with tactics that saved lives on both sides. He didn't like to see soldiers being killed. He told his own troops to dig in. He tried to outwit and trick the enemy into surrender.

And he died in a way that saved the life of his close friend General Speidel, although by that time he knew that he had precisely that man to thank for the fact that he had been handed the Socratic dish of poison. I must say that the Rommel biography was one of the most rewarding books that I have ever written, not financially, but it was a rewarding book because it's always nice to write a book about a hero. And he was a hero. As Winston Churchill himself said in 1942, at a time when things stood very darkly for us—we had lost Singapore, we were losing the whole of our empire in the East—Churchill stood up in the House of Commons and said, "We have a very daring and skillful opponent against us, and, may I say across the havoc of war, a great general."

Reviewing a Year of Progress,

(Keynote address presented October 13, 1990, to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference.)

MARK WEBER

Since our last conference in February 1989, the entire world has been joyful witness to dramatic and almost unbelievable historical events in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Above all, we have seen the breakdown of Soviet Communism, and with it, the end of Soviet domination of eastern Europe.

These world-historical events, which were all but unthinkable just a few years ago, mark the welcome end of the Cold War and of the postwar era in Europe, including the artificial division of the continent. Along with these developments, including the steady withdrawal of both American and Soviet military forces from Europe, a new age of freedom is dawning in Europe. The peoples of that continent are on their way to once again being masters of their own destiny.

Perhaps the most dramatic and symbolic expression of these changes was the opening of the Berlin Wall last November 9th. Just ten days ago, we witnessed the formal unification of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic into a unified state of almost 80 million people.

We are witness to not only the collapse of the Communist political order, but also to the complete bankruptcy of an ideology, Marxism, that tried to impose an artificial equality in social and economic life, and which tried to stamp out national consciousness and national freedom.

It will not be long before long-suppressed national feelings will find expression in the re-birth of the independent nation states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Croatia, and perhaps

Ukraine, Slovakia and Slovenia. The breakup along ethnic-national lines of artificial multi-ethnic states such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union is likewise inevitable.

Anyone who does not understand the importance of historical revision, or the relationship between political freedom and historical awareness, should look to the full-scale historical revisionism that has swept across eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the past year. This process of historical revision is an inseparable part of the radical political and social transformation in that part of the world.

In schools and universities throughout eastern Europe and the USSR, the subject in the curriculum that has undergone the most radical transformation has been history. In the Soviet Union, school exams were even postponed until after old history textbooks could be thrown out and replaced with rewritten new ones purged of the accumulation of 70 years of official lies and distortion.

Soviet newspapers and magazines have been casting new light on one suppressed chapter of history after another, revealing in horrible detail the full scale of what Soviet Communism has meant in practice, particularly during the Stalin era. What has been emerging is a story of terror, mismanagement, death and suffering on a scale even more terrible than most of us here in the West had ever realized.

The Soviet government finally admitted last April that the thousands of Polish officers killed in the Katyn forest near Smolensk during the Second World War were victims not, as had been claimed for decades, of German forces, but rather of the Soviet secret police, the NKVD. In Germany, the full extent of the terror of Stalinist rule in the Soviet zone of occupation in the years after the end of the war was brought to light. Earlier this year, mass graves were uncovered of tens of thousands of German civilian victims of Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and other postwar Soviet-run concentration camps. In Buchenwald alone, it was confirmed, at least 16,000 people perished in the years after the war.

Of course, this process of historical revision has been, for the most part, confined to a drastic re-evaluation of the history of Soviet or Communist rule. A similar reassessment of American history has not been undertaken. For example, almost nothing has appeared in the American media about the implications for our society of the truth of the Katyn massacre.

Next to nothing has been said about the U.S. role in the historical coverup.

The four Allied governments, including the United States, that staged the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46 accused Germany of responsibility for the Katyn massacre in their joint indictment of the surviving German leaders. Witnesses and official reports—the same kind of evidence used to "prove" German responsibility for the murder of millions of Jews at Auschwitz and Majdanek—were presented at Nuremberg to supposedly prove German guilt for the Katyn killings. To point up the truth about the Katyn massacre is thus implicitly to discredit the entire Nuremberg process.

It is perhaps natural for people to want to suppress embarrassing chapters of their own past. A kind of self-righteousness about our history, similar to that which prevailed in the Soviet Union until very recently, still holds sway here in the United States.

One of the most important works of Revisionist history to be published since the last IHR conference is *Other Losses,* a book published in September 1989 in Canada. In this work, Canadian author James Bacque presents compelling evidence to show that American and French military forces were responsible for the deliberate deaths of about a million German prisoners of war.

The principle figure responsible for this atrocity, Bacque shows, was Allied commander, and later U.S. president, General Dwight Eisenhower. By removing German prisoners of war under American control from the protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Eisenhower broke international law and committed an act for which, under the standards of the Nuremberg Tribunal, he could have been hanged. Bacque's book also documents the complicity of the *New York Times* and the International Committee of the Red Cross in suppressing the truth of this atrocity. *Other Losses* has prompted a flood of letters and reminiscences by many former German prisoners and American GIs who have provided detailed further confirmation of the essential truthfulness of Bacque's book.

I mention this Revisionist book not merely because of its important revelations about a suppressed chapter of history, but for its implications about the social climate that makes the work of the IHR so important. It is significant that *Other*

Losses was written not by a well-known and tenured professor at Harvard, Yale, Stanford, or the University of Wisconsin, or by an established historian at any major American university, but was instead the work of a non-professional. In the forty years since the end of the war, no establishment historian dug up what James Bacque was able to find.

The reason, it seems, is that all too many American historians are simply not able to conceive that such an atrocity could have been carried out by the people who are assumed to have been the "good guys" of the Second World War. Each one of us operates on the basis of certain assumptions about life and society, and most historians of twentieth century history seem to operate on the basis of certain set assumptions about historical morality in the history of this century.

James Bacque's book is an indictment, therefore, not merely of Eisenhower or the U.S. government forty-five years ago, but also of the American historical establishment today.

Other Losses has been or soon will be published in Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Britain and Turkey. It has been a best-seller in Canada, and in both Canada and Germany it has received widespread attention in newspapers and on television. Here in the United States, it has been the subject of numerous newspaper reports, and even the "CBS Evening News with Dan Rather" presented a rather fair report about it during its broadcast on October 10th, 1989.

And yet, in spite of virtually certain substantial sales and profits, at least thirty U.S. publishers have turned down the book. *Other Losses* has so far been effectively banned here in America, the victim of a spirit of bigotry and prejudice that seems pervasive in the American publishing establishment.

The editor of one U.S. publishing firm considering the manuscript wrote that his superior "felt he simply couldn't muster enough sympathy for all those dead Germans to want to publish the book." Another major U.S. publisher responded to Bacque's description of how German prisoners had little to eat and almost no shelter by stating, "They should have taken their God damn clothes away as well."

Lewis Lapham, editor of *Harper's* magazine, declined to publish anything about Bacque's book because Americans are, he wrote, "future-oriented," and are not interested in what happened forty years ago. I wonder what Mr. Lapham would think of the millions of Americans who avidly followed the

recent sweeping public television series on the Civil War, or of those who insist that we must never forget what happened forty-five years ago to the Jews of Europe.

Another expression of the prejudiced spirit that seeks to suppress Bacque's book appeared in the September 1989 issue of the journal of the Canadian section of the B'nai B'rith organization: "Is a possible motive behind the writing of this book an attempt to belittle the Holocaust by concocting a similar genocidal catastrophe directed against Germans, so that somehow, the Jewish Holocaust loses its uniqueness? Is this book merely another form of Holocaust denial?"

Thirty-five years ago, the great American Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes protested against the "blackout" tactics practiced against Revisionist history by the group of people he called the "Smearbund." Sadly, it seems that little has changed since then in the publishing or academic history establishment.

While it is difficult to believe that the informal boycott will succeed in permanently preventing an American edition of Bacque's book, particularly in light of the almost certain profits to be made, what has already happened reconfirms the importance of the work of the IHR, and of independent scholars such as Bacque and the historians whom we are pleased to welcome here this weekend.

Since the last IHR conference, there have been significant developments on the Revisionist history front, both here in America and abroad. A family in a Chicago suburb made headlines last May when they publicly protested against an Illinois state law that requires compulsory "Holocaust studies" throughout the state. Mr. and Mrs. Sarich withdrew their daughter, Sanya, from the objectionable classes, and circulated 6,000 copies of an articulate open letter in which they explained the reasons for their decision. Their brave stand resulted in newspaper articles around the country, including a lengthy and relatively objective piece in the *Chicago Tribune*.

In recent months, Holocaust Revisionism has received a good bit of attention as a result of an acrimonious dispute involving Patrick Buchanan, a nationally-syndicated journalist and former White House speech writer and communications director. In a column published in March, Buchanan wrote that the story that Jews were gassed at the Treblinka camp

with exhaust from a diesel engine is not credible because such engines do not emit enough carbon monoxide to kill. Harvard university professor Alan Dershowitz responded with a vitriolic syndicated column charging that Buchanan has "apparently become a full-fledged, card-carrying member of the 'revisionist' school."

More recently, Buchanan was attacked as evil and dangerous by *New York Times* editor and columnist Abe Rosenthal, setting off a furious debate that is still going on. Commenting on the dispute, the weekly magazine *U.S. News and World Report* claimed a couple of weeks ago that Buchanan's writings have been "providing aid and comfort to those who still consider the Holocaust a myth." The daily *New York Post* also attacked Buchanan, and in this context, referred to Holocaust Revisionists as "flat earth types."

Every friend of the IHR is aware of the importance of the investigations by American engineer Fred Leuchter of the alleged extermination gas chambers in Poland. In the months since he addressed the last IHR conference, there have been significant developments in the Leuchter case, which will be described in detail tomorrow afternoon. (An important sign of this is the lengthy article in today's issue of the *New York Times,* which includes a photo on the front page of Mr. Leuchter. This article confirms that he is the foremost American expert on execution hardware, including gas chambers.)

Earlier this year, a teacher of history at Indiana University-Purdue in Indianapolis, Donald Dean Hiner, was dismissed from his teaching post because he had questioned the standard view of the Holocaust story in his classes. Here in America, in the name of free speech and academic freedom, we permit university professors to spout the most absurd nonsense in their classrooms. For example, some professors seriously claim that the AIDS epidemic was invented by the U.S. government as part of a genocidal plot to exterminate Americans of African origin. But casting doubt on the Holocaust extermination story is not tolerated, and it is worth noting that the normally so vociferous defenders of free speech have had nothing to say about this case.

Nevertheless, as a result of these and other developments in recent years, most well-informed Americans are now at least vaguely aware of Holocaust Revisionism. More importantly, a

small but steadily growing minority of Americans now sympathizes with the Revisionist view of the extermination story, and growing numbers are at least skeptical of the more sensational Holocaust claims.

Since the last IHR conference, Historical Revisionism has continued to make steady progress in other countries.

New Revisionist periodicals and new translations of IHR leaflets have appeared in a number of nations. In France, where Holocaust Revisionism has made the most impressive inroads, a handsome and well-edited new Revisionist quarterly was launched earlier this year. In Belgium, an attractive Flemish-language Revisionist quarterly journal has been launched.

Holocaust Revisionism has taken root in Poland, where a professor of social sciences at the University of Radom has launched a new pro-Revisionist periodical. A growing circle of bright young Polish academics has been laying the foundation for solid Revisionist growth in that country.

Important Revisionist work has also been quietly going on in other eastern European nations and in the Soviet Union. British historian David Irving has spent a good bit of time this past year speaking to packed halls in different European countries.

Since the last IHR conference, the impact of Holocaust Revisionism has been acknowledged in a backhanded way by some prominent Holocaust historians. We have seen drastic concessions by historians who might be called "Establishment Revisionists."

For one thing, the supposedly authoritative claim that four million people were put to death at Auschwitz was acknowledged to be a propaganda myth. In September 1989, Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer declared that not four million, but perhaps 1.6 million died at Auschwitz. To maintain the completely untenable four million figure, he warned, would play into the hands of Revisionists, because, he conceded, the Revisionists can easily demonstrate that this figure has absolutely no basis in reality. Bauer went on to pin the blame for the phony four million figure on the Poles, who were motivated by what he called a misguided Polish "national myth."

Last July, the historical director of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland announced that instead of four million,

one million or perhaps one and a half million died at Auschwitz. He did not say just how he had calculated these figures, nor did he say how many of these people he thought were killed, and he gave no figures of the numbers of supposedly gassed.

The tone of American newspaper reports about this drastic revision tended to pin blame on the Soviets or the Poles for the mythical four million Auschwitz figure. What was routinely suppressed in American papers is the fact that this four million figure was certified by not merely the Soviets, but also by the governments of the United States, Britain and France at the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46. The joint Nuremberg indictment by the four Allied governments charged that four million were killed at Auschwitz alone, and that another one and a half million were killed at Majdanek. These figures were also widely and uncritically repeated in the American press.

What was also suppressed in the media accounts is that the newly revised Auschwitz figure implicitly discredits the postwar statements of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. He supposedly "confessed" to killing two and a half or three million at Auschwitz. Höss' statements have been and still are widely cited as key evidence for the Holocaust extermination story. But if fewer than two million died at Auschwitz, as is now officially conceded in Israel and Poland, the Höss "confessions" are implicitly fraudulent.

Even though two and a half or three million people have now been officially "un-gassed," as it were, at Auschwitz, and perhaps another million or so have been "un-gassed" at Majdanek, not even Yehuda Bauer has yet had the courage to draw the obvious conclusion that the magic six million figure cannot possibly be correct. For the time being, anyway, this figure continues to be treated with great reverence.

Last April, the infamous "human soap" story was also officially repudiated. Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, and the director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center, Shmuel Krakowski, conceded that, contrary to what has been alleged for years in countless periodicals and supposedly authoritative history texts, the Germans did not manufacture bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. If the story is not true, one might reasonably ask, how then did it ever get started? Yehuda Bauer had a ready answer. He said that the Nazis invented the story.

This is completely untrue, of course. In fact, this slanderous story was first widely circulated in 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, and in particular by its president, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Yehuda Bauer was right about one thing. It is not hard to disprove some of the more obvious Holocaust frauds.

One need only consider a widely circulated publication of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. With the authoritative-sounding title, *The Record: The Holocaust in History,* it purports to be a reliable account of how Europe's Jews were treated between 1933 and 1945. It is one of the most widely distributed pieces of Holocaust propaganda in America. *The Record* was first published in 1978, when it appeared as a supplement in Sunday newspapers across the United States. In the years since, it has been distributed in mass quantity. I am holding a copy of the second, revised edition of 1985, which is still being distributed by the ADL.

On the front page is an article attacking Revisionism. It specifically condemns Dr. Arthur Butz's book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* This article is written by Elie Wiesel, a man who has written, "Ukrainians have no head for figures," and that Jews should have a "healthy, virile hate" for Germans.

Just three pages of this tabloid are devoted to articles about extermination of Jews. Let's take a closer look at the evidence presented here for extermination.

On page ten there is an article that reports on the killing of no less than two million Jews at the Treblinka camp alone. But this article does not claim that the victims were shot or gassed, which is the generally accepted story these days, but maintains instead that victims were steamed to death – a story that no reputable historian now accepts.

On the same page is a story about mass killings of Jews at the Belzec camp. Here again, we find more ADL disinformation. Citing a supposed "eyewitness account," Jews were put to death at this camp, the ADL claims, not by gassing, but by electrocuting the victims in a special hydraulic electrocution device. This is yet another phony story that no serious or reputable historian of the subject now accepts.

In an effort to lend credibility to this publication, there is a photograph on page eleven of a door with a sinister skull and crossbones emblem and the words in German: "Caution! Gas!

Dangerous to Life! Do Not Open!" Underneath this photograph is a caption: "Door of a gas chamber, typical of ones through which millions of Jews passed to their deaths." In fact, what is shown in this photograph is the door of a non-homicidal gas chamber at Dachau used to kill lice in clothes. It was never used to kill people.

On the next page of this tabloid is reprinted an article written in 1945 by *New York Times* journalist C.L. Sulzberger claiming that "more than four million persons were systematically slaughtered in a single German concentration camp," referring to Auschwitz. As already mentioned, this once authoritatively made claim of four million Auschwitz victims has now been officially consigned to the trash heap of history.

Since the ADL is usually so keen on keeping track of what is said here at IHR conferences, whoever is monitoring this for the ADL might want to take a note to clean up this act a little bit, or run the risk of looking even more ludicrous than usual.

But perhaps I'm too optimistic. This ADL publication calls to mind an apt quotation from the Talmud: "How many pens are broken, how many ink bottles consumed, to write about things that have never happened."

Of course, our friends at the ADL are not the only ones who practice this kind of deceit with regard to twentieth century history, including attaching false or misleading captions to photos that actually show something quite different.

When it comes to movie stars, Elvis Presley, and anything having to do with Hitler and the Third Reich, it seems that many people are ready to believe just about anything. A few weeks ago, the supermarket tabloid *Weekly World News* provided a memorable example of such sensationalism in its issue of September 18th. A big front page headline proclaimed: "Hitler Captured! Nazi madman trapped on way to Iraq to help Saddam Hussein. Nazi hunters catch Fuehrer boarding ship in Peru!"

If you don't believe this story, just take a look at the proof provided inside. There's a photo here of a bungalow and yacht, which, the caption explains, is the house where the one-hundred-year old Fuehrer was hiding out, and the boat that he was getting ready to board when he was captured. Photographic proof! And just as authentic as that photograph of the gas chamber door in the mass-circulation ADL tabloid.

Because we are meeting for the first time here in Washington, D.C., it is appropriate to mention the great Holocaust Museum that is being built not far from here, in the shadow of the Washington Monument. Interestingly, the initial decision in 1977 to build this museum was motivated, as the influential business magazine *Regardie's* reported in its November 1988 issue, by fear of the growing influence of Revisionist historians.

The U.S. government may have trouble these days finding money to maintain our National Parks or to keep them open to the Library of Congress. And the government seems utterly unable to clear the streets of what are euphemistically called the "inner cities" of armed street gangs. But priorities are priorities, and the crowd here in Washington that makes our laws has decided, in its great wisdon, that taxpayer money must be kept flowing to keep in operation the "United States Holocaust Memorial Council," the taxpayer-funded federal agency that is putting up the $150 million dollar Holocaust museum.

In the July 1990 issue of its monthly newsletter, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council expressed alarm at the growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism. "The educational danger inherent in the dissemination of its pseudo-scholarly literature must not be underestimated," it warned. The federal government newsletter went on:

> It is this literature of denial that compels the Museum to present the history of the Holocaust not only in a coherent and easily understandable way, but also in one that is historically unquestionable. It must not only tell the story, it must also prove the historical veracity of the story by using exhibits as evidence.

To that end, the newsletter reports, the Holocaust Museum people have been busy collecting such convincing exhibits as: a few bricks from the Warsaw ghetto wall, a boat used to ferry Jews from Denmark to Sweden in 1943, some wartime toothbrushes, an eating table and some stools from an Auschwitz camp barracks, the entrance door to the Lodz ghetto hospital, and some Jewish wartime identity cards.

Well, all this is very interesting, but not quite evidence of extermination in gas chambers of millions of Jews. This effort reminds me of the Georgia backwoods story of the "good ole boy" hunter, who bragged to his friends: "Last week I treed me

a 300-pound possum, and if you don't believe me, I'll show you the tree."

To be fair, the Holocaust agency has announced one exhibit that will be displayed in the Museum as evidence of extermination. What is it? To quote the March issue of the Council's newsletter, it is "a casting of the door that sealed one of the gas chambers as the Majdanek killing center in Poland." The newsletter includes a photograph of the sinister door.

Well, what about that?

When we consult the thick book published late last year by "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, we learn from the author, French Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac, that this door did indeed close on a gas chamber at Majdanek. However, as Mr. Pressac concedes on page 557 of his book, this chamber was used only to gas clothing. Pressac acknowledges that the only living things killed in this gas chamber were lice.

Oh, these poor Holocaust Museum people. The Museum is months away from completion, and already they're having trouble getting their story straight. We will have fun with this Museum because we intend to do what we can to help visitors to better understand what is on display. When the Museum finally opens its doors to the public, we do not intend to be merely watching passively from the sidelines.

There is no question but that Jews suffered terribly during the Second World War. They were rounded up, taken from their homes, and deported to horribly overcrowded ghettos and camps. Many died and many were killed.

No one of good will can object to a museum or monument in memory of those who died. It is right and proper to memorialize the dead, and it is fitting to remember the victims of terror, prejudice and oppression, whether in this century or another, whether they be victims in Europe, North America, China, Japan, or even Palestine.

But this Holocaust Museum will be much more than a sincere memorial to the dead. It will be the centerpiece of the seemingly perpetual campaign that Jewish American historian Alfred Lilienthal has very appropriately called "Holocaustomania." This Museum will ultimately be remembered most of all, not as a memorial to the suffering of six million innocent victims, but rather as a manifestation of

the illicit power and influence of the small minority group that pushed for it, and of the political expediency and twisted priorities of the venal and unprincipled politicians who sanctioned it.

This U.S. government museum is dedicated to the memory, not of dead Americans, but of dead Europeans. There is no comparable national museum here in Washington dedicated to keeping alive the memory of the American Civil War. There are no imposing monuments or vast museums dedicated to the tens of millions of victims of Soviet Communism even though, as is well known, Stalin's victims vastly outnumber Hitler's.

I am sure that if they are given the plain facts, most Americans would agree with us that this entire "Holocaust-omania" campaign is out of line and entirely inappropriate, that it is a betrayal of our traditions and, in short, un-American.

Three years ago, in the summer of 1987, a syndicated article that appeared in newspapers around the country reported that the IHR was on the ropes, and suggested that it was only a matter of time before the IHR would either collapse or became utterly ineffectual. The article quoted an official of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who said that the IHR "is not fooling many people anymore."

Well, these days the ADL is singing a very different tune. Since our last conference, the very inappropriately named Anti-Defamation League has issued two propaganda booklets designed to discredit the IHR. The latest of these, which is entirely devoted to a misrepresentation of the last conference, all the same acknowledges that the impact and influence of the IHR is now greater than ever.

Since the last conference, the IHR has indeed continued its steady progress. Our popular series of envelope-size leaflets has been expanded and are circulating by the hundreds of thousands, in greater quantities than ever. The IHR's mailing list is larger than ever.

Since the last conference, several important new books have been published, including, a moving memoir, *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*, by Mr. Albert Kawachi, whom we are pleased to welcome here this weekend. An attractive new edition of Dr. Stäglich's book about Auschwitz and a new edition of Paul Rassinier's pioneering work on the extermination question have also been published. A translation of Henri Roques's

brilliant doctoral dissertation has been brought out under the title, *The Confessions of Kurt Gerstein.*

The IHR's quarterly *Journal of Historical Review* has reached an impressive level of editorial quality, giving it greater influence among those who influence others.

IHR media director Bradley Smith has continued to reach many hundreds of thousands of new people across the country with the IHR's "glasnost" message of historical awareness.

One sign of the continuing progress and steadily growing influence of the Institute for Historical Review is this conference. Our roster of guest speakers for this year's gathering is at least as impressive as any we've been privileged to present. In particular, we are very pleased to welcome Mr. John Toland, the Pulitzer prize-winning American historian.

The Institute for Historical Review is dedicated to furthering historical truth, historical awareness and understanding among nations. The IHR is not an enemy of any ethnic, racial or religious group. Our enemies are ignorance, prejudice, close-mindedness and intolerance.

As I believe the presentations of this weekend will confirm for any intelligent and open-minded person, the work of the IHR deserves the support of all men and women of good will. We have no illusions about the great obstacles still before us. But at the same time, we are gratified by the measurable progress that has been made during the last several years.

With pride in what we have accomplished, and with confidence that together we will achieve even more during the months and years ahead, we meet together this weekend, here in the nation's capital, in a spirit of fellowship and solidarity.

Witch Hunt in Boston

FRED A. LEUCHTER, JR.

(*Paper presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference*)

Boston is historically famous for an atmosphere conducive to free thinking. Boston is no less historically infamous for an atmosphere of social and political intolerance, the like of which is unrivalled in the annals of repressive thoughts. The witch hunt originates from the very bedbolts of Boston's fiber and, although perfected in Salem, one of Boston's more notorious suburbs, the roots of the witch hunt go back some twenty-five years prior to the Salem Witchcraft Trials to the little-known case of Mary Dyer.

Mary Dyer now stands on the lawn of Boston's new State House, the center of Massachusetts's sometimes enlightened, but generally befuddled government. She stands as a statue to remind the people of Massachusetts "Never Again!" (It seems we have heard these words somewhere before.) She's there to remind the people of Boston of their ancestors' disgrace, their crime against humanity: the murder of free thought in Boston, the execution of Mary Dyer.

Mary Dyer was a Quaker who, because of bearing witness to her faith, was accused of being a witch, being possessed of the devil. Boston, however, notwithstanding events a quarter of a century later at Salem, in the end could not bring itself to persecute, excuse me, I mean prosecute, the poor woman for her religious beliefs by way of an accusation that she was possessed by Satan and, therefore, a witch (although that was attempted), but instead charged her with sedition, a charge broad enough to cover its shame. In 1660 Mary Dyer was convicted and summarily hanged at the old gallows at Boston Neck. But at length Boston recovered its sanity and,

displaying the true Puritan ethic, in the tradition of Hester Prynne, emblazoned an A on its breast, by planting Mary directly in front of the Massachusetts State House. "Never again."

Today, hypocrisy again reigns in Boston. On the eighteenth of September, 1990, some three hundred and thirty years after the disgrace of Mary Dyer, the Massachusetts court system, directed this time by something other than the Puritan ethic, prepares again for another consummate disgrace. It has issued Criminal Complaint Number 9050 CTR 3294, against Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. and is preparing to try him for practicing as an engineer without being registered. Today's sedition?

Maybe I can get the contract to build the gallows.

The problem is greater. I'll start at the beginning. Most everyone here knows that in 1988 I was sent to Poland by the defense team of Ernst Zündel to investigate the alleged execution gas chamber facilities at three Nazi-run concentration camps: Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. My subsequent report and forensic analysis proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that there were no gas execution facilities operated by the Nazis at these three camps. I later entered my findings into the court record as testimony as a court-qualified expert at Toronto. I was chosen for this task from a field of experts numbering one, recommended by those states in the United States having lethal gas chambers as a mode of execution.

I came, I saw, I testified. There were no homicidal gas chambers. Q.E.D. It was over, I thought. Chapter two was in the drafting. But not by me.

After I completed my assignment for Mr. Zündel and the Canadian court system, exporting some of Thomas Jefferson's ideals of constitutionally guaranteed free speech and the right to a fair trial, I returned to Boston to resume my work as the only execution expert and manufacturer of execution equipment: electric chairs, lethal injection machines, gas chambers and gallows. It was back to business as usual, I thought.

While I contacted the various prison wardens with whom I deal, an insidious plot was being fomented by various Jewish groups, namely the Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice, headed by Shelly Shapiro and based in Latham, New York, and its parent organization, the Beate

Klarsfeld Foundation, headed by Beate Klarsfeld and based in Paris. Additionally, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith joined, forming a rather unholy and anti-American trinity. Apparently, after unsuccessfully attempting to impugn the scientific truth contained within and upon which the Leuchter Report of 1988 is based, through the incompetent analysis of an unqualified pharmacist, J.C. Pressac, the Klarsfeld Foundation, whose much proclaimed purpose is "Nazi hunting," has switched to witch hunting. The reason for this switch is unknown to me at this time, although I might speculate that it is due to slim pickings in the area of Nazis. I don't know if pickings are better for witches, but with the approach of Halloween, who knows, things might improve.

These organizations had determined that if *The Leuchter Report* was unassailable, Leuchter wasn't. But I'm sure they found, much to their dismay, that Leuchter was as he said he was. And his shirt was clean too. The next step, if they intended to target Leuchter, was to destroy him economically. They set out with a very workable, but very clandestine plan. The plan must have been very well organized, for it has apparently succeeded very well.

A five pronged-attack has been initiated against me by these groups, aimed at depriving me of my civil rights and the right to make a living at my chosen profession. This has consisted of the following:

1. Political threats to prison officials who choose to deal with me.
2. Vilification by private contacts as well as in newsprint and on television.
3. Legislation to prohibit my working at my profession.
4. Criminal prosecution for working at my profession.
5. Lies spread by public officials, both officially and privately.

Sometime around November or December of 1988 representatives from various Jewish organizations began contacting the prison wardens and other Department of Corrections officials in states having capital punishment, threatening them with political consequences if they dealt with Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. or Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc. thus, almost a year after the writing of *The Leuchter Report*, a

treacherous plan was implemented. I continued to work now knowing what was happening, but seeing the beginning of my business decline. Orders seemed to stop, but I was unable, or unwilling, to read the handwriting already appearing on the wall. That fall I was contacted by a writer who asked me if I would permit her to interview me on the obsolete and defective execution equipment around the country and my efforts to replace it with humane and competent equipmemt. The article was finally written and appeared in the February 1990 edition of the *Atlantic* magazine. The article dealt only with execution equipment in the United States. It never mentioned the existence of *The Leuchter Report.* That had never come up in my discussions with the author, and was beyond the scope of the article. Both the magazine and the author received many adverse comments from various elements of the Jewish community.

Resultant to this article, I was contacted by *Prime Time Live* of ABC News to do the special which was broadcast in May of this year. I was advised by personnel at ABC News that at various locations at which we had taped, prison officials had been contacted and threatened with political consequences if we were allowed to continue. Fortunately, by that time we had completed taping. ABC News was pressed by the same groups not to air the show. Feeling that this pressure was interference with the news, the ABC people refused to give in. They were also criticized for not condemning me for writing the *Report.* ABC *Prime Time Live* felt that the *Report* was beyond the scope of its programming and failed to mention it, even in passing. At least one periodical condemned them for the broadcast. ABC News also told me that these groups were actively attempting to interfere with my livelihood as an engineer.

My work continued to fall off. More and more wardens were refusing to speak to me or return my calls. Even states where I had major friendships had stopped discussions relative to execution equipment. One warden reported to me that he had been called by someone purporting to be the head of the Massachusetts Republican Party, requesting information on myself so they might draft capital punishment legislation. Being uncomfortable with the call, he advised me of the caller's telephone number. I called this party and he lied to me as well, claiming a misunderstanding with the warden

in question but telling me he was head of a group of concerned Republicans wishing to restore the death penalty in Massachusetts. His real name is Eric Redack. I too, sensing a fishing expedition, gave him no information. Two days later I was contacted by Channel 2 WGBH Television, in Boston, advising me that he had filed legislation, along with the Massachusetts Black Caucus, a group of black Massachusetts legislators, and others, to put me out of business and prevent me from manufacturing execution equipment here in Massachusetts. Channel 2 asked me my opinion of this bill (Senate No. 95), which has been effectively killed by the Massachusetts Legislature. I explained that the bill was unconstitutional because it violated Article I, Section 10 of the United States Constitution in that it was a bill of attainder, *ex post facto* legislation, and a restriction of free trade. Mr. Redack appeared on television as a representative of Amnesty International, stating that it was his intention (and that of those he represents) to "put Fred Leuchter out of business."

Channel 2 Television in Boston had previously interviewed me under the pretext of a program on inadequate execution equipment in use across America, but subsequently spent most of the interview on *The Leuchter Report.* The broadcast included interviews with Shelly Shapiro and Beate Klarsfeld of the conspiratorial organizations mentioned above. I was vilified as a Nazi in these interviews, without the opportunity to respond. I protested this to the reporter, Christie George, who quickly apologized for her omission. But the damage had already been done.

I have been further interviewed, often in a very unflattering light, by both television and print media in recent months, most recently by the *New York Times*, where reporter Michael Hinds has even misrepresented the facts.

In early May I was contacted by the Engineering Board of the State of Massachusetts regarding a complaint filed with them by the Holocaust Suvivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice. (The name of the complainant was not made available to me until the matter was brought before the court.) Subsequent to this contact, I was advised that I would have to go out of business or face criminal charges. I responded to the Board's threat with a denial that any law had been violated. There was a subsequent hearing of fact to determine if a complaint should be issued before a clerk-magistrate in

Malden District Court, Middlesex County. The clerk had determined that for numerous reasons the complaint should not be issued, but when advised that the Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice had made the initial complaint, the clerk said that it would be better that he issue the complaint and allow the judge to dismiss it at a later time. Although a representative of the ADL tried to force her testimony on the hearing, she was denied access based on the fact she had no evidence pertinent to the matter. I will be arraigned on the 23rd of October, in Malden.

The Massachusetts General laws, Chapter 112 clearly states that registration is required of engineers engaged in construction and who "assure compliance with specifications" for that purpose. Most engineers in Massachusetts (except those in construction) are not registered, and never have been. Additionally, I have not done any work in, or for, the State of Massachusetts. This is clearly a misapplication of the statute for the above stated, and for many other reasons.

Conviction under this statue is punishable by three months in jail and a five-hundred dollar fine.

While all this was in progress, I was awarded two contracts by the State of Illinois. The first was to clean and inspect the lethal injection machine I sold them several years ago, at Stateville Prison; the second, to repair the abuse the machine has suffered in the past three years, to test and certify the machine, and to supervise the upcoming execution of Charles Walker. Again, the unholy trinity—the Association of Holocaust Survivors etc., the Klarsfeld Foundation, and the ADL—reared its ugly head. This time several Jewish legislators threatened to introduce special legislation to prevent the Department of Corrections of the State of Illinois from dealing with me. After the vise of political threats had been applied, the Department of Corrections yielded and broke contracts with Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc.

Furthermore, corrections officials were pushed into vilifying me in the press and questioning my competence, all the while maintaining that the now defective lethal injection machine, which I had designed and built, was capable of a competent execution. In fact, the machine needed repair from the three years of abuse it had sustained (it demonstrated a seventy-percent failure rate). This was the State of Illinois's greatest sin: proceeding with the execution of Mr. Walker

aware of the great chance of failure. They not only violated my civil rights but those of Mr. Walker, whose rights they were sworn to uphold. In the course of events I advised Illinois that it was proceeding with the execution over my recommendations and objections and that I would not be responsible for the outcome. The State of Illinois would be accountable. Illinois's response was that I would be held accountable for the execution in any event.

As the battle proceeded in Illinois, Ed Carnes, the Assistant Attorney General for the State of Alabama, generated a memorandum which he sent to all capital punishment states stating that I was dangerous, should not be dealt with and that I had unorthodox views on executions. Upon investigation, I found that my unorthodox views on executions meant that I support only humane executions (he apparently supports painful and inhumane executions) and further that, if the states that I deal with do not buy equipment from me, I go to court to stop executions in that state, an allegation that is ludicrous. In fact it is Mr. Carnes who is the problem. He lied to me in order to get me to support an upcoming execution and misrepresent the facts before an Alabama court, causing me to believe the last execution was humane. His conduct is a disgrace to the State of Alabama, which he represents.

I had received a contract to replace Alabama's electrocution system first through a proposal and then via the bidding process. The finance department, apparently working with the office of the Attorney General, improperly wrote the contract but promised to correct the problem quickly. I was subsequently asked to support the next execution relying on the fact that prior problems in equipment had been corrected and that new equipment would be available for the next execution. I was informed that no correction would be made two days prior to the execution, putting me in a position of having misinformed the court and cancelling the contract. My failure to correct the misinformed court would be as embarrassing as my advising the court that I had been misinformed. I was also told that someone else wanted to re-bid the contract but without the support guarantees of humanity for the executee: i.e., training, test and certification. Coming as it did in coordination with the activities of the Office of the Attorney General, one has to assume the same perpetrators.

I have recently been informed that an unidentified source is spreading the lie that the lethal injection machine that I installed in Missouri, which has provided the five most humane and flawless executions in history, had failed during an execution, furthering the fear and distrust that has been spread throughout the past year.

So successful has this personal attack on me been that I have not received any equipment orders for more than a year. I estimate that more than three hundred thousand dollars have been lost to date. The only work I have been able to obtain is that of court expert in various states. If this continues, I will have been effectively put out of business. I have, however, been approved as an expert in execution technology and specifically electrocution technology in Federal District Court, the world's only such expert recognized by a court.

Mr. Kirk D. Lyons, Esq., of Houston, Texas, the executive director of the Patriots Defense Foundation, Inc. will be representing me on the criminal charge and in the civil rights actions. He will also file a major civil action at a later date in Federal Court.

Jean Claude Pressac and the War Refugee Board Report

CARLO MATTOGNO

In his monumental study *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*,[1] Jean-Claude Pressac proposes a "critical study of the 'War Refugee Board' report of November 1944 on KL Auschwitz-Birkenau" (pp. 459-468), purporting to "demonstrate the authenticity of the Rosenberg/Wetzler testimonies regarding Krematorien of type II/III" (p. 459), the accuracy of which, he concedes, is not great in the light of current knowledge.

Walter Rosenberg, who subsequently assumed the name of Rudolf Vrba, and Alfred Wetzler escaped from the camp of Birkenau on April 7, 1944 and later compiled a report about their experiences in Auschwitz-Birkenau,[2] which was published, together with the joint report of Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin, escapees from Birkenau on May 27, 1944, and that of Jerzy Wesolowski, who escaped from Birkenau on November 19, 1943 (he later changed his name to Tabeau), by the U.S. government's War Refugee Board in November 1944.[3]

This is the version of the report which Pressac prefers, and upon which he bases his critical study.

Pressac declares, in the first place, that excerpts of the War Refugee Board report:

> . . . were published in the *New York Times* on 26th November 1944, the day when Himmler, it is thought, ordered the dismantling of the three remaining Birkenau Krematorien. The concordance of dates, though perhaps due to chance, amply justifies the action of these five witnesses whose accounts formed the basis for the report (p. 459).

In reality no "concordance of dates" exists here. To begin with, the first excerpts of the testimonies of Vrba and Wetzler were published by the *New York Times* more than four

months before, to be exact on the 3rd and the 6th of July, 1944.[4]

As for the Himmler order, Pressac derives the date of November 26, 1944 from the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau*, by Danuta Czech, in which, under that date, one reads:

"The RF-SS Himmler ordered the destruction of the crematoria in the Auschwitz concentration camp."[5]

As her source, Danuta Czech cites the testimony of the former SS Standartenführer Kurt Becher,[6] to be exact, document PS-3762. In this document, however, Becher makes no mention of the date in question, stating merely that Himmler issued the order "between the middle of September and the middle of October 1944."[7] According to Becher, there were two originals and one copy of Himmler's order, but not a trace of these documents has been found.

Before examining Pressac's arguments in detail, it is necessary to clarify their methodological premises. Pressac certainly deserves praise for recognizing that in the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau nothing was static: the plans and the buildings to which they pertained were constantly evolving. An architectural designation correct for 1944 might be false for 1942. Therefore, a testimony must be analyzed on the basis of the architectural structure of the camp as it existed in the period to which that testimony refers.

Pressac is also to be commended for subjecting testimonies which had always been accepted, *a priori* and dogmatically, as truthful by the Exterminationist historiography, to critical analysis. Although Pressac sought to bring the same critical rigor, which we accept without reservation, to the analysis of Vrba and Wetzler's testimony, here he failed, for he arbitrarily limited his analysis to that portion of their testimony covering the period between the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943.

Pressac's arguments for the authenticity of Vrba and Wetzler's testimony are based on the following two assumptions (it being universally conceded that the two witnesses never saw the interiors of the crematoria at Birkenau):

1) that their direct observations of the exterior of the crematoria do not go beyond March 1943;

2) that the indirect information presented in their report is provided principally, if not exclusively, by inmates of the

> "Sonderkommando" assigned to the "Bunkers" 1 and 2. This information can not be dated later than the end of 1942 because these inmates were "liquidated" on December 17 of that year.
>
> Both these assumptions are completely groundless.

Pressac has committed another methodological error: by restricting his study to the Vrba-Wetzler report of 1944, he has neglected its authors' subsequent testimony, which contradicts the French writer's two assumptions categorically.

Rudolf Vrba appeared as a prosecution witness against the accused in the 1985 trial of Ernst Zündel. There he testified to having drawn the plan of crematoria I and II (= II and III according to the usual numeration) which appears on page 16 of the first part of the War Refugee Board report,[8] and to having observed crematorium II from the window of the mortuary connected to Block 27 of camp BIb, at that time still a men's camp, from a distance of about 50-60 yards.[9].

Vrba went to the mortuary barracks "frequently," he told the court. Since Alfred Wetzler was registrar there,[10] a position he held to June 8, 1943,[11] Wetzler and his friend Vrba could have observed crematorium II from a very close distance until that date. Vrba also testified that he had seen the crematoria and the surrounding area over a period "from January 1943 until April 7, 1944."[12]

Vrba's sworn testimony, therefore, categorically contradicts Pressac's assumption that the two witnesses did not see crematoria II and III after March 1943.

Pressac's premise is all the more unjustifiable in view of the clear statement in the text of the Vrba-Wetzler report that the description of the crematoria refers to 1944:

> At present there are four crematoria in operation at Birkenau, two larger ones, I and II, and two smaller ones, III and IV.[13]

Because Vrba and Wetzler escaped from Birkenau on April 7, 1944 and composed their report a couple of weeks later, it is clear that the expression "at present" cannot refer to March 1943, when, moreover, only two of the four crematoria were functioning.

Vrba has categorically refuted Pressac's second assumption, according to which the two witnesses received information concerning crematoria II and III principally, if not

exclusively, from detainees of the "Sonderkommando" of the Bunkers 1 and 2, and then only until December 1942.

In the book *I Cannot Forgive*, Vrba wrote:

> I met other Registrars as well, and renewed contract with Philip Müller, who became one of my most valuable sources of information. Philip stoked the furnaces in the crematorium.[14]

Vrba received "further information" from Philip (Filip) Müller when, at the beginning of 1944, he discussed with him the new situation in the camp.[15]

At the Zündel trial, Vrba confirmed having frequent contacts with members of the "Sonderkommando" who were working in the crematoria, stating that he drew the plan of crematoria II and III in exact accordance with their information. To attorney Christie's question as to whether the plan was accurate, Vrba answered:

> This I cannot say. It was said that as we were not in the large crematoria, we reconstructed it from messages which we got from members of the Sonderkommando working in that crematorium, and therefore, that [was] approximately how it transpired in our mind, and in our ability to depict what we have heard.[16]

After denying that either he or Wetzler had ever entered any of the crematoria of Birkenau, Vrba confirmed that:

> Consequently, we had to rely on rough information which we got from the Sonderkommando who worked inside; and to reproduce a map without being trained in architecture, from hearsay descriptions of the other eye witnesses, of course, is not such a simple thing.[17]

Nevertheless, Filip Müller, whom Vrba cited in his testimony as one of his most valuable sources of information, expressly stated that in 1944 he handed Alfred Wetzler, among other documents, "a plan of the crematoria with the gas chambers."[18]

The above amply demonstrates that Pressac's two working assumptions are unfounded and can only lead to erroneous conclusions. It follows that his entire case, which is derived from these assumptions, is devoid of probative value.

This by itself would be sufficient to invalidate completely Pressac's attempt to demonstrate the veracity of the material at the core of the Vrba-Wetzler report. In the interests of methodological thoroughness and precision, however, we

shall present a detailed refutation of Pressac's individual arguments.

To begin, however, another premise is necessary. The Vrba-Wetzler report evinces numerous and important discrepancies regarding the architectural structure of the crematoria in the period to which it refers, April 1944, the very reason that Pressac surmises that their information refers to the state of the crematoria in March 1943.

Below, we summarize the chief discrepancies between the crematoria as reported by Vrba and Wetzler and as they actually were in April 1944, for the reader's convenience in following Pressac's attempts to reconcile the contradictions, and our refutations of his efforts. To make things clearer, we publish Vrba's sketch of the plan of crematoria II/III from the War Refugee Board report, the actual blueprint of the same, and Pressac's artistic attempts to reconcile them (Figs. 1-3).

I. Furnace room

1) Number of furnaces: 9 (Vrba-Wetzler) instead of 5 (Pressac).

2) Number of muffles for each furnace: 4 (V-W) instead of 3 (P). (Vrba and Wetzler's figures for furnaces and muffles result in a total of muffles, 36, which is more than twice the documented figure.)

3) Architectural disposition of the furnaces: in a semicircle around the chimney (V-W) rather than in a straight line along the longitudinal axis of the furnace room (P).

4) Cremation capability: 2,000 corpses per day for each of the crematoria of type II and III (V-W), instead of 1,000-1,100.

II. Undressing room

5) On the ground-floor of the crematorium (V-W) rather than in the basement (P).

III. "Gas chamber"

6) On the ground-floor, although a little lower than the two previous rooms (V-W), rather than in the basement (P).

7) Number of the "roof traps" for inserting the Zyklon B: 3 (V-W) instead of 4 (P).

8) Rails that connect it to the furnace room passing through the undressing room (V-W): non-existent.

IV. First "gassing"

9) 8,000 Jews from Cracow (V-W) instead of 1,492 (according to the "Kalendarium" of Auschwitz).

For greater clarity, we will present the arguments of Pressac according to the above order.

I. Furnace room

Contradictions 1, 2, and 3: number of furnaces, number of muffles, architectural arrangement of the furnaces (see Fig. 1-3).

Pressac writes:

> The number of furnaces cited per Krematorium is wrong. Those of type II/III had only 15 cremation muffles, not the 36 announced. This error is understandable if we assume that the witnesses themselves had never entered a Krematorium and all of their observations were from the exterior or based on the accounts of other prisoners, in particular, though we cannot prove it, Sonderkommando members working in December 1942 at Bunkers 1 and 2 who would have been able to watch the building of what they believed would be their future place of work. Document 9 enables us to understand the assumed disposition of the furnaces around the chimney, and with this arrangement the number of furnaces would be a multiple of three. (p. 459)

In other words, detainees attached to the "Sonderkommando" assigned to Bunkers 1 and 2, seeing the chimney rising from a broad quadrangular wing of crematorium II, which measured 10x12 meters (Pressac's "document 9" is a photograph of crematorium II with this wing in evidence), supposed that the furnaces were arranged around the chimney and communicated this hypothesis to Vrba and Wetzler.

So far as we can see, this explanation explains nothing. It does not explain on what basis the detainees of "Sonderkommando" deduced the number of furnaces and of muffles and their architectural disposition. Indeed, as is plain from the photograph of crematorium II published by Pressac, from looking only at the exterior nothing of the sort could be deduced: one could only "imagine," which is very different.

Pressac makes no attempt to explain why the detainees of the "Sonderkommando" should have "imagined" exactly nine furnaces with four muffles, arranged around the chimney. His contention that, had the furnaces been arranged around the

chimney in a semicircle, their number would be a multiple of 3, we must confess, is to us incomprehensible. We can't see why the number of furnaces could not be, for example, 5, or 7, in such an arrangement.

As we have shown above, Pressac's attempt to explain this anomaly is totally unfounded: Vrba declared under oath that he received the information regarding the inside structure of the crematoria, *not* from the detainees of the "Sonderkommando" working in the Bunkers in 1942, but from those working in the crematoria of Birkenau in 1943 and 1944, in particular from Filip Müller.

It seems quite absurd to us that detainees assigned to service the furnaces would not have known the number and arrangement of the furnaces and muffles. The conclusion is obvious. If one allows Rudolf Vrba's *bona fides*, one is thereby obliged to deny that of the "Sonderkommando" members who provided him his information: one has to assume that they deliberately lied to him. But this hypothesis is obviously insupportable.

The importance of the discrepancies between the Vrba-Wetzler report and Pressac's documents as to the number of furnaces, the number of muffles, and the architectural arrangement of the furnaces is thus fully established.

Contradiction 4: cremation capability.

The cremation capability of each of crematoria II and III as stated by the Vrba-Wetzler report—2,000 corpses in 24 hours—is about twice the figure settled on (without any objective foundation, however) by Pressac: 1,000-1,100 corpses in 24 hours (p. 244). Pressac attempts to explain this discrepancy as follows:

> In the [Vrba-Wetzler] report the throughput of the four Krematorien per 24 hours is fairly reasonably estimated at 6,000, though this is one third higher than the 4,416 units a day reported in a letter of 28th June 1943 from the Bauleitung to the SS Economic and Administrative Head Office in Berlin. Even this I consider to be a purely administrative document, calculated on the basis of the original estimated throughput of the furnaces, the true daily rate for the four cremation installations being no more than 3,000. If we take the rate of incineration given by the witnesses—three corpses per muffle in one and a half hours—and apply this to the true number of furnaces, the daily figure for the four Krematorien is about 2,200 (p.459).

We state at the outset that the cremation of 3 normal corpses in 90 minutes in the furnaces of crematoria II and III of Birkenau—as well as the cremation capability adduced by Pressac—was technically impossible, as we shall show in a study of this question to be published shortly.

Pressac's argument is, in any case, methodologically incorrect, because it arbitrarily eliminates, instead of explaining, a contradiction in the text of the report: one related to the number of muffles. According to Pressac's logic, it could be demonstrated, that, for example, Dov Paisikovic, allegedly a member of the Sonderkommando, told the absolute truth when he stated that "it took about four minutes for the corpses to be consumed" (*les cadavres mettaient environ quatre minutes à se consumer*).[19] Yes, if we take the number of muffles given by this witness and apply it to the correct time needed for cremation, we obtain a crematorium's true cremation capacity!

We add that the data in the Vrba-Wetzler report for a crematorium of type II/III furnish a daily cremation capacity of 1,728 corpses, not 2,000. Furthermore, the result obtained by using Pressac's figures (3 cadavers x 15 muffles x 90 minutes)—720 corpses in 24 hours—is lower by about one third than the average figure admitted by Pressac himself: 1,050 corpses in 24 hours. If Pressac accepts the Vrba-Wetzler figure for the time needed to cremate 3 corpses in one muffle (90 minutes), one is at a loss to understand how he could simultaneously maintain that a crematorium of type II/III could cremate 1,000-1,100 corpses in 24 hours.

The conclusion follows that the members of the "Sonderkommando" working in the crematoria told Vrba the truth about the time needed for cremation and about the loading capacity of the furnaces, but lied to him about the number of furnaces and of muffles!

Nor is that all. In his book *Cannot Forgive*, published in 1964, Rudolf Vrba changed his version completely. He stated that crematoria II and III each had 5 furnaces, with 3 muffles for each furnace, and that in each muffle 3 corpses could be cremated in 20 minutes.[20] The incineration capacity of each crematorium thus jumps to 3,240 corpses in 24 hours. Filip Müller, Vrba's valuable source of information, confirmed these technically impossible data exactly—3 corpses per muffle in twenty minutes time 15 muffles.[21] It follows that the

information passed to Vrba must not have agreed with the "90 minutes" claimed in the Vrba-Wetzler report, nor with the "36 muffles."

The importance of the discrepancies between the data given by the Vrba-Wetzler report and those of Pressac on the cremation capacity of crematoria II and III is thus not only confirmed, but enhanced.

II. Undressing room

Contradiction 5: location of the room (see Fig. 4)

On this Pressac writes:

> In light of the drawings of type II/III Krematorien now known, it might be thought that there was no undressing room at ground level, but drawing 2216 of 20/3/43 (Documents 5 and 6), a plan of the entire POW camp, confirms the reality. As to this date, only Krematorium II AND [*sic*] its gas chamber were completed. Its future underground undressing room is shown only as "planned." It had in fact already been built, but was not yet operational. Krematorium III was under construction. Its undressing room and gas chamber were also shown as "planned," which is not quite true—they were almost complete, but not yet usable. A "Pferdestallbaracke OKH Type 260/9," a "stable-type" hut, was erected as a provisional undressing room in the north yard of Krematorium II. Two reasons may be advanced for this. First, the SS intended to use both Leichenkeller (basement morgues) of Krematorium II as gas chambers, operating them alternately, which would have been possible after making only minor modifications to Leichenkeller 2 (the undressing room) as it was already ventilated. Second—and this is more likely—a temporary undressing room was required because the access stairway to the basement undressing room was not yet built and work was still going on in this room, making it unavailable for "special treatment" operations (p.459).

Pressac furnishes further details:

> We know little about this hut, except that after serving as an undressing room for the first batch of Jews to be gassed in this Krematorium, it was quickly dismantled—only a week later according to the Sonderkommando witness Henryk Tauber. The first mention of an access stairway through Leichenkeller 2 found in the PMO archives, BW 30/40, page 68e, is dated 26/2/43 (Document 7a). As soon as this entrance was operational, the undressing hut was no longer required (p. 462).

To summarize, Pressac deems Vrba and Wetzler's claim that the undressing room of crematorium II/III was on the ground floor to be accurate because, for about a week in March 1943, there was a hut in the north yard of crematorium II which was employed as an undressing room for the "victims of the gas chamber" (Pressac claims the hut was torn down after a week). Since this hut was clearly above ground, Vrba and Wetzler were in good faith in claiming that the undressing room was on the ground floor.

This position cannot be sustained. As we have already demonstrated, the description in the Vrba-Wetzler report refers to the state of the crematoria in April 1944, not that of March 1943. In addition, the Vrba-Wetzler report makes no mention whatsoever a dressing-room "hut." No such hut appears either in the sketch of type II/III crematoria or in the plan of Birkenau which were drawn by Vrba. This indicates that the two witnesses never saw or heard of the hut in question. According to Vrba and Wetzler's account, the undressing room was actually located inside the crematorium, of which it is an integral part.

But let us suppose that the two witnesses or their sources had actually seen the hut in question: how does one explain the transformation, in their report, of this external hut into an internal room? Once again, Pressac's explanation explains nothing.

The importance of the discrepancy as to the location of the undressing room, therefore, is fully confirmed.

III. "Gas chamber"

Contradiction 6: "gas chamber" on the ground floor (see Fig. 4-5.

Pressac doesn't take note of this discrepancy, due to his mistaken reading of the text of the Vrba-Wetzler report and, more importantly, to his neglect of the additional sources (Vrba's subsequent writings and testimony). Pressac, who identifies the subterranean Leichenkeller (basement mortuary) No. 1 as the "gas chamber," credits the report with accuracy on this point, since by his interpretation it locates room C, the alleged gas chamber, "at basement level." (p.459)

This interpretation is incorrect. The Vrba-Wetzler report states:

"From there a door and *a few steps* [emphasis added] lead down into the very long and narrow gas chamber."[22]

Thus this room was undoubtedly lower than the furnace room and the undressing room, but one cannot, on the basis of the report, equate it with Leichenkeller 2, because, further on, the report states that, in order to carry out the "gassing," "SS men with gas masks *climb on the roof*" [emphasis added][23] of the "gas chamber," which locates the roof well above ground level.

This interpretation is expressly confirmed by Rudolf Vrba's testimony at the Zündel trial. As we noted above, Vrba claimed to have observed crematorium II, looking out the window of the morgue attached to Block 27 of camp BIb, from a distance of 50-60 yards, specifying that:

> This Krematorium no. II had, apart from buildings, long bunkers which were approximately the height of two such tables. Say the bunker was about this height, above the head of a human being.
>
> Attorney Christie: All right. You are indicating about six and a half, seven feet?
>
> Rudolf Vrba: I would think so. In other words, a man who would climb on it would have to lift his hands and sort of make an exercise in order to swing himself on top of the bunker.[24]

Rudolf Vrba further stated that he himself saw, from the window of the morgue, a corporal of the SS Health Service climbing in the manner described on to the roof of the "bunker" in order to carry out the "gassing":

> And then he climbed on the bunker by holding on his hands and in a sporty way swinging himself over, which attracted my attention because it was not usually the demeanor of S.S. men to make sport.[25]

In the course of Christie's cross-examination, Vrba confirmed previous testimony to the effect that while he certainly hadn't measured the height of the "bunker" with a ruler, he was nevertheless sure that it was about as tall as an adult, possibly taller, and that, in order to get on to the roof, one had to climb up in the way he had described.[26]

Now, as Christie pointed out in his cross-examination, the original plans of the "bunkers," that is of Leichenkeller 1 and 2 (HUTA drawing 109/13A and 109/14A of 21/9/1943, published by Pressac on page 322 and 324 of his work), show two basement rooms, the roofs of which protrude 54 centimeters [21.2 inches] above ground level. An earthen embankment, sloping up from the ground, enabled one to

climb to the roof of the alleged gas chamber by taking merely two steps. Since Rudolf Vrba claims that this room rose about two meters [6.56 feet] above ground, it is clear that he wasn't telling the truth.

The importance of the discrepancy as to the location of the "gas chamber" is thus fully confirmed.

Contradiction 7: number of roof openings for insertion of Zyklon B.

Pressac's explanation for this discrepancy is as follows:

> It is difficult to accept at face value the descriptions of the interiors of the undressing rooms and gas chambers, for the installations varied over time. Those of summer 1944 are well known, for they have been described or sketched many times by former members of the Sonderkommando. On the other hand, those of the early days have virtually not been described at all. The witnesses may have described the strict truth—which already fluctuated according to the version—but I doubt this, since they never entered Krematorium II themselves, or they lied, which is also most unlikely in view of the exact details given elsewhere, or—and this is far more probable—they invented a little to fill in the gaps in a story whose endings they knew only too well.
>
> The gas chamber of Krematorium II was fitted with four openings for pouring Zyclon-B [*sic*]. The witnesses state that there were only three, and a photograph of January 1943 does indeed show this gas chamber as having only three devices for introducing the toxic product at that time. (pp. 459 and 464)

According to Pressac, when on 31 March 1943 crematorium II was officially turned over to the camp command by the "Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei" of Auschwitz, the alleged "gas chamber" was outfitted with four openings for the introduction of the Zyklon B. (p.430)

It follows that Vrba and Wetzler, or their informants, cannot have made their observations after this date. As we have shown above, however, this is contradicted by Vrba's later sworn statements. Let us merely add that another photograph of crematorium II, which Pressac ascribes to the period "between 20th and 22nd January 1943" (p.335), in which Leichenkeller I is distinctly visible, does not show the least trace of "openings for pouring Zyklon-B." The photograph to which Pressac refers above (which he publishes on p. 340), on

the other hand, offers a distant and indistinct view of Leichenkeller I; on its roof are discernible three vertical shapes. Evident only by their shadowy contrast against the bright facade of crematorium I, the shapes are so indistinct that it is, to say the least, rash to affirm confidently they were devices for introducing Zyklon B.

But what was actually on the roof of Leichenkeller I in January or February 1943 is, in the last analysis, not very important here. What is important is that Rudolf Vrba testified in the Zündel trial that he repeatedly observed crematorium II at later dates, during the time it is supposed to have served as an instrument of extermination. Vrba even described a "gassing," allegedly carried out by the corporal of the SS Health Service who had climbed on the roof of Leichenkeller I, which he claimed to have watched from about 50-60 yards away. This alleged event occurred at a time when Leichenkeller I, according to Pressac, had four of these devices for pouring in the Zyklon B. Finally, as noted above, Vrba testified in Toronto that he and Wetzler could calmly observe, from about 50-60 yards, Leichenkeller I until the beginning of June 1943.

The two witnesses, therefore, should have seen four devices, not three. Aware of this discrepancy at the Zündel trial, Vrba elegantly liquidated it by stating that he had seen "three or four" openings on the roof of Leichenkeller 1.[27]

Only three such openings, however, are mentioned in the 1944 report. Neither insufficient observation—it was carefully carried out from about 50-60 yards away for almost five months—nor faulty memory—that of Vrba at that time being (according to him) absolutely exceptional—can account for the disparity: here again, Pressac's attempt at explanation explains nothing, and the discrepancy's importance is clear.

Contradiction 8: rails connecting the "gas chamber" and the furnace room, by passing through the undressing room.

Pressac writes in this regard:

> There remains the problem of the rails. According to the witnesses, they ran from C (the gas chamber) to A (the furnace room), connecting two different levels, the basement and the ground floor. This can be done only if there is a shallow slope between the two levels. This is the most dubious part of the testimony, for the corpses in Krematorium II/III were in fact brought up from the underground gas chamber to the ground

floor furnace room by means of a goods lift [freight elevator]. There were no rails or wagons involved in this process. Three Bauleitung photographs (Documents 11, 12 and 13) confirm that in late 1942 and early 1943 there were narrow-gauge rails running between the furnace room and the future undressing room, Leichenkeller 2, apparently to facilitate the transport of building materials between these two places (Document 10 ["Schéma 3"]). **This railway was visible from outside the two Krematorien.** However, it did not run between the gas chamber and the furnace room. The witnesses' confusion between C and B is all the more understandable in that they could see only the outside of Krematorien II and III. To show just how easy is to be mistaken, I would simply refer to the book *KL Auschwitz: Documents photographiques*, published by the Warsaw national publishing agency in 1980, where, 35 years after the event, Photo 61, identical to PMO neg. no. 286, is captioned "construction of the gas chamber: of Krematorium IV or V," and Photo 62, showing concrete being poured from the roof of the undressing room of Krematorium II, is captioned "Prisoners concreting the ceiling above the gas chamber of Krematorium II or III."

The presence of rails during the construction of Krematorien II and III, easily visible to witnesses outside, first led the witnesses into error because they thought they were a permanent feature and found them difficult to explain, then subsequently confused the translators, who had just as much trouble in inserting them logically in the text. Some—the version in G. Wellers's book—got round the problem by talking of "path" and "lorries" for track and trucks, without bearing in mind that they were describing a building, the Krematorium, that they had never seen and whose overall dimensions did not exceed 50 x 100 meters. The same type of "vagueness" can be seen in all versions on the subject of the interior of the gas chamber—an indirect proof that the witnesses had never seen it. Version 1 describes it as "masked by hangings," Version 2 has "shower installations . . . painted on the wall," and version 3 "the walls . . . are also camouflaged with simulated entrances to shower rooms." The details that were clear and well established in the report were well understood and rendered by the translator. Those that were less clear gave rise to different interpretations and hence to the different "versions." (p.464)

To recapitulate, Vrba and Wetzler, or their sources, during late 1942 and early 1943, saw rails connecting Leichenkeller 2 to the furnace room and "imagined" that they were a

permanent installation. Because at that time it was not known what the function of the two Leichenkeller would be, they imagined moreover that Leichenkeller 2 was the "gas chamber," and that this premise was still connected to the furnace room by means of the rails.

Pressac's arguments have no basis. First of all, his interpretation of the Bauleitung photographs is open to question. None shows rails connecting Leichenkeller 2 to the furnace room. Pressac has published a photograph of Leichenkeller 2 during its construction, showing double rails, and a photograph of the furnace room showing double rails, but no proof exists that these rails were connected (documents 11 and 12 on page 466).

In the latter photograph, the two rails on the right, according to Pressac, descend "on a shallow slope toward Leichenkeller 2" (p.466). This interpretation seems to us rather daring. In reality the rails cross the furnace room obliquely, which can lead to an optical illusion, that they descended in a gentle slope. If in fact the rails had sloped, the floor of the furnace room would have likewise sloped down toward Leichenkeller 2, for the track is clearly at floor level. In this case, since the distance from the entrance to Leichenkeller 2 to the entrance to the furnace room was about 43 meters (as is shown by Bauleitung drawing 933, published by Pressac on p. 276), and because the floor of Leichenkeller 2 was 2.60 meters (c. 8.5 feet) lower than that of the furnace room (drawings 1173-1174 [r], p.274), even if one allows that the sloping tracks from the furnace room reached floor level about 9 meters into Leichenkeller 2 (according to Pressac's attempt to reconstruct the path of the rails in crematorium II: "Schéma 3" on p.465), the slope of the resulting inclined plane would be 5 per cent. Such a slope would mean that the floor level at the far end of the furnace room was 1.5 meters (almost 5 feet) higher than the floor level adjoining (or entering) Leichenkeller II! It seems to us scarcely believable that architects would have floored a room of about 360 square meters at a 5% inclination—which would require about 270 cubic meters of material to restore the floor to a horizontal plane—and installed five three-muffle furnaces on this inclined plane. The hypothesis of a sloping floor in the furnace room—in our opinion clearly disproved by Pressac's document 12—evidently does not seem very credible even to Pressac, who, in the aforementioned "schéma," depicts

the floor of the furnace room as horizontal and decreases the length of his inclined plane to about 15 meters, running from the near end of the crematorium floor to the adjacent Leichenkeller 2.

These computations are, once again, not so important, for Pressac's explication is directly contradicted in two different ways: the first is Vrba's sworn statement that he witnessed a "gassing" in Leichenkeller 1 of crematorium II, from which would follow that he knew perfectly well which of the two Leichenkeller was the "gas chamber." Vrba's supposed confusion, according to Pressac, between Leichenkeller 2 and Leichenkeller 1, was therefore impossible. The second is the Vrba's sworn testimony that he drew the sketch of type II/III crematorium which appears in his and Wetzler's report based on information from members of the Sonderkommando working there. That these inmates, who worked daily in the "undressing room," in the "gas chambers" and in the furnace rooms, were unaware of the layout and the contents of these rooms, is equally impossible.

Pressac's attempts to explain the presence of a railway track in the crematorium explains nothing, and the importance of this discrepancy is once again fully confirmed.

IV. First "Gassing"

Contradiction 9: the number of "victims" of the first "gassing" in crematorium II.

Pressac writes:

> The gassing of the 8,000 Cracow Jews described by the witnesses corresponds fairly closely in date with the known history of the month of March 1943. The first tests of the Krematorium II furnaces took place on 4th March according to the deposition of former Sonderkommando member Henryk Tauber, a day on which 45 "well-fleshed" bodies, especially selected from a batch gassed at Bunker 2, were cremated. The furnaces were subsequently kept going for another ten days without any further cremations. On 13th March, Messing, the Topf fitter who installed the ventilation systems, announced that he had furnished that of Leichenkeller 1, which meant that the gas chamber was now operational. And on the 14th, apparently in the evening, about 1,500 Jews from the Cracow ghetto—rather than the 8,000 of the report—were led to the undressing hut erected perpendicular to Krematorium II in its north yard. Preparation and gassing lasted two hours.

> Cremation proceeded at full pace for 48 hours. On 20th March, six days later, 2,200 more victims, this time from Salonika, arrived to join the remains of the first 1,500 victims of Krematorium II (Documents 14 and 15) (p.464).

The page of the "Kalendarium" of Auschwitz relative to 14 March 1943, which Pressac reproduces from the Polish edition as his document 14 (p.467), reports that on that date a transport of about 2,000 Jews reached Auschwitz from ghetto B of Cracow. Of these, 484 men (numbers 107990-108409 and 108467-108530) and 24 women (38307-38330) were registered. Although this secondary source claims (without foundation) that approximately 1,500 of the Jews not registered for admission to the camp were gassed, it makes no mention of a first "gassing" in the new crematorium.

Indeed, it is simply Pressac's conjecture that 14 March 1943 was the date of the first "gassing" in Crematorium II. This supposition is definitely disproved by the testimony of both Vrba and Tauber, whom Pressac advances as an eyewitness to the first "gassing" and whose 1945 deposition to the Polish war crimes commission he publishes in translation (pp. 482-502).

We state at the beginning that Tauber says neither that the number of victims was 8,000, nor that they came from Cracow (p. 489). This information is derived from the Vrba-Wetzler report. Vrba, however, in his *I Cannot Forgive*, states that the first "gassing" in crematorium II took place one morning in "January" 1943: "by eight forty-five" the "gas chamber" had been filled with "3,000 Polish Jews" and "by eleven o'clock" the "gassing" began.[28] We pass over the other contradictions to focus on the time of the "gassing": eleven o'clock in the morning.

Tauber, in contrast, declared that the trucks loaded with victims arrived in the crematorium "at nightfall" (p.489). It follows that the morning "gassing" reported by Vrba and Wetzler is not the same as the one reported by H.Tauber. Since, according to Pressac, Tauber's account takes precedence, the first "gassing" in crematorium II cannot have been of approximately 1,500 Jews from ghetto B in Cracow; therefore, the statement in the Vrba-Wetzler report that Jews *from Cracow* were killed during the first "gassing" must be false.

As far as the number of "gassed" is concerned, at the Zündel trial Vrba stated:

> What I could see was the following, that a transport of eight thousand Jews from Cracow on that occasion . . .
>
> Attorney Christie: Eight thousand, eh? You counted them?
>
> Vrba: By knowledge of the trucks, as I explained to you yesterday, and by knowledge of the number of [railroad] wagons which arrived to Auschwitz, we knew reasonably well how many of the victims arrived on which day.[29]

Vrba claimed to have established the number of the alleged victims of gassing at Auschwitz during his stay at the camp by counting the trains and the trucks by which—before the construction of the "ramp" at Birkenau—the selectees were sent to the "gas chambers." In particular, since he knew that 100 people were loaded in each of these trucks,[30] Vrba supposedly ascertained—having counted 3,000 trucks—that 300,000 Jews from the Polish ghettos near Auschwitz had been gassed.[31]

It follows that on the day of the first gassing, Vrba must have counted 80 trucks filled with Jews from the Cracow ghetto. This confirms and reinforces the importance of the disparity as to the facts of the first "gassing" in crematorium II, which cannot have been the one described by in the Vrba-Wetzler report, cannot have been of approximately 1,500 Jews from Cracow and cannot have happened on March 14.

Jean-Claude Pressac's attempt to demonstrate the veracity[32] of the Vrba-Wetzler report regarding crematoria II/III fails from the start, thanks to Vrba himself, in testimony subsequent to the report: thus, in terms of the Vrba-Wetzler report, authenticity and veracity are mutually exclusive. Therefore, one can seriously discuss the veracity of the report only on condition that its authenticity be excluded, which would mean admitting that Vrba and Wetzler are not the true authors of the report, but only impostors.

The conclusion is that the Vrba-Wetzler report is objectively false, and those who want to attempt to prove its *bona fides* should previously declare it apocryphal.

These considerations lead us to the crux of the matter, which we have identified in a previous article, pointing out:

> It is an indisputable fact that the 'Protocols of Auschwitz,' as written, do not withstand serious criticism and cannot constitute a reliable historical source. While from the standpoint of sound historical criticism, the problem of the reliability of the 'Protocols of Auschwitz' is certainly solved, the

> fundamental problem, regarding the historical reality of the extermination of the Jews in gas chambers by means of Zyklon B, remains.[33]

Towards a solution of this problem, we are able here to submit an initial contribution.

Vrba claimed he decided to escape from Auschwitz above all to warn the Hungarian Jews and prevent their extermination:

> For almost two years I had thought of escape, first selfishly because I wanted my freedom, then in a more objective way because I wanted to tell the world what was happening in Auschwitz; but now I had an imperative reason. It was no longer a question of reporting a crime, but of preventing one; of warning the Hungarians, of rousing them, of raising an army one million strong, an army that would fight rather than die.[34]

Obviously, the indispensable premise of his mission was to convince the Hungarian Jews and the world of the reality of the alleged extermination of the Jews.

Yet despite the Vrba's claim to have been in direct contact with the members of the "Sonderkommando," in particular with Filip Müller, one of his "most valuable sources of information," the Vrba-Wetzler report, as far as the "gassings" in the crematoria are concerned, cannot originate from information supplied by members of "Sonderkommando," unless these had deliberately lied to the report's authors.

This means that the story of the extermination of the Jews presented in the Vrba-Wetzler report was worked out by persons unfamiliar with the crematoria, and above all unknown to the "Sonderkommando" members themselves.

The study of the genesis of the extermination story, based on the documents available, cannot but confirm this fact.

Notes

1. Published by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York 1989. Quotations and references with no further indication refer to this work.
2. E. Aynat believes that Vrba and Wetzler are not the true authors of the report. See his *Los "Protocolos de Auschwitz": ¿Una Fuente Historica?*, Alicante, Spain: García Hispán, Ed., 1990.
3. Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, Washington D.C., *German Extermination Camps - Auschwitz and Birkenau*, November 1944.

4. "Inquiry confirms nazi death camps. 1,715,000 Jews said to have been put to death by the Germans up to April 15," *The New York Times*, Monday, July 3, 1944, p.3; "Two death camps places of horrors. German establishments for mass killing of Jews described by Swiss," *The New York Times*, Thursday, July 6, 1944, p.6.
5. *Hefte von Auschwitz.* Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 1964, p.89.
6. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 8, 1964, p.89, note 125.
7. PS-3762.
8. *In the District Court of Ontario. Between: Her Majesty the Queen and Ernst Zündel. Before: The Honourable Judge H.R. Locke and a Jury* (from this point on: Records of the Zündel trial), vol. VI, pp.1260, 1266 1316; this drawing was accepted as proof no.15 (p. 1318).
9. Ibidem, p.1322.
10. Ibidem, p. 1321.
11. Ibidem, vol. VII, p. 1428.
12. Ibidem, vol. VI, p. 1329.
13. War Refugee Board Report (see note 3), first section, p. 14.
14. *I Cannot Forgive*, by Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic. Sidgwick and Jackson and Anthony Gibbs and Phillips, 1963, p. 175.
15. Ibidem, p. 197.
16. Records of the Zündel Trial, vol. VII, p. 1479.
17. Ibidem, p.1540.
18. Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz.* Deutsche Bearbeitung von Helmut Freitag. Verlag Steinhausen, München 1979, p.193.
19. *Auschwitz présenté par Léon Poliakov*, Réne Julliard 1964, p. 162.
20. Vrba and Bestic, op. cit., p. 16.
21. Müller, op.cit., p. 29 and 94.
22. War Refugee Board Report, p. 16.
23. Ibidem.
24. Records of the Zündel Trial, vol. VI, p. 1328.
25. Ibidem.
26. Ibidem, vol. VII, p. 1444.
27. Ibidem, vol. VI, p. 1328; vol. VII, p. 1432.
28. Vrba and Bestic, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
29. Records of the Zündel Trial, vol. VII, p. 1409.
30. Ibidem, p. 1562.
31. Ibidem, p. 1571 and 1573.
32. This is the actual meaning which Pressac intends when he misuses the term "authenticity."
33. From the author's foreword to Aynat, op. cit., p. 12.
34. Vrba and Bestic, op.cit., p.198.

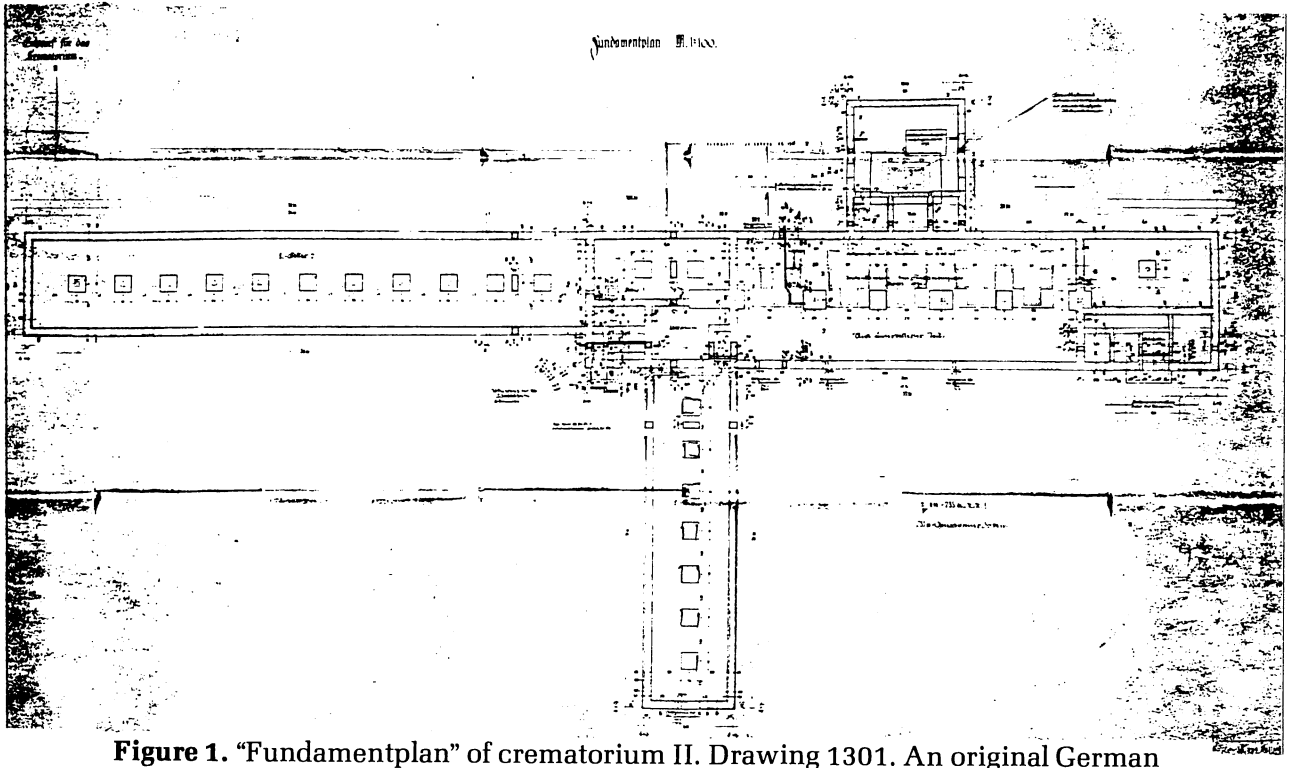
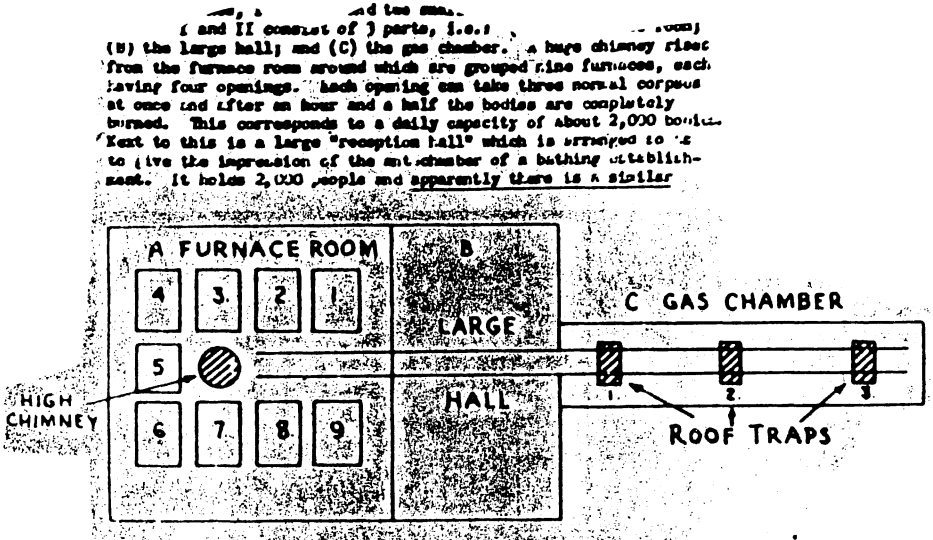


Figure 1. "Fundamentplan" of crematorium II. Drawing 1301. An original German blueprint reproduced in J.C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chamber*, p. 293.



ROUGH GROUND PLAN OF CREMATORIA: TYPES I & II IN BIRKENAU.

waiting room on the floor below." From there a door and a few steps lead down into the very long and narrow gas chamber. The walls of this chamber are also camouflaged with simulated entries to shower rooms in order to mislead the victims. The roof is fitted with three traps which can be hermetically closed from the outside. A track leads from the gas chamber towards the furnace room. The gassing takes place as follows: The unfortunate victims are brought into hall (B) where they are told to undress. To complete the fiction that they are going to bathe, each person receives a towel and a small piece of soap issued by two men clad in white coats. Then they are crowded into the gas chamber (C) in such numbers that there is, of course, only standing room. To compress this crowd into the narrow space, shots are often fired to in[illegible] already at the far end to huddle st[illegible] together [illegible] is inside, [illegible] door [illegible] sense, [illegible]

Figure 2. Plan and description of Birkenau crematoria of type I and II (= II and III according to the more usual numeration) according to the Vrba-Wetzler report published by the War Refugee Board. From: J.C. Pressac, op.cit., p. 461. At the Zündel Trial of 1985, Vrba testified that he was the author of the plan.

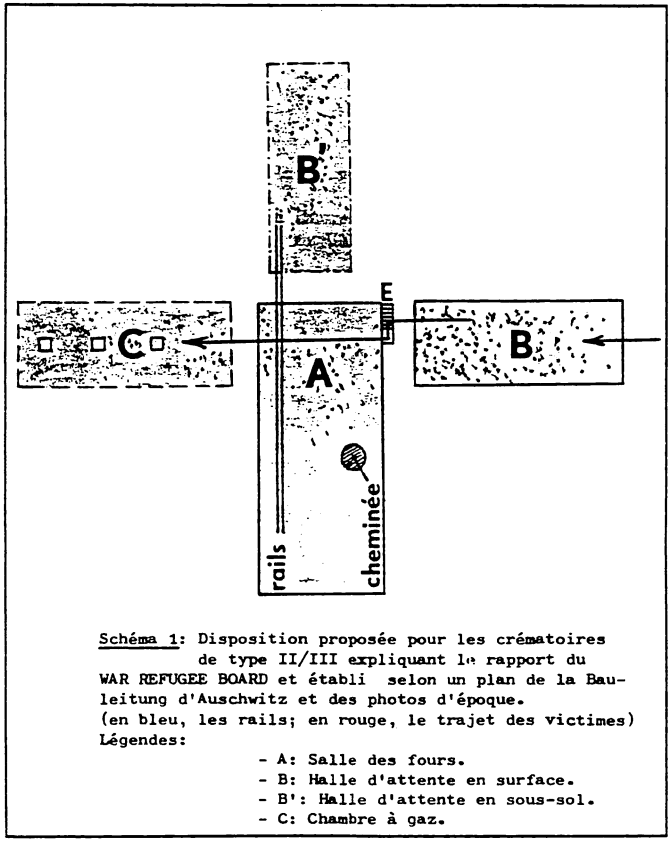


Schéma 1: Disposition proposée pour les crématoires de type II/III expliquant le rapport du WAR REFUGEE BOARD et établi selon un plan de la Bauleitung d'Auschwitz et des photos d'époque.
(en bleu, les rails; en rouge, le trajet des victimes)
Légendes:

- A: Salle des fours.
- B: Halle d'attente en surface.
- B': Halle d'attente en sous-sol.
- C: Chambre à gaz.

Figure 3. "Schéma (diagram) 1" of J.C. Pressac (op.cit., p. 463), "Arrangement proposed for Krematorien of type II/III, explaining the War Refugee Board Report and based on an Auschwitz Bauleitung drawing and contemporary photographs." (A = Furnace room; B = ground-floor waiting room; C = underground waiting room; D = gas chamber.)

Pressac's diagram explains nothing. In the plan drawn by Vrba, "large hall B" is located between the "gas chamber" and the "furnace room," and is crossed by rails which connect these two rooms.

In Pressac's diagrams 1 and 2 (cfr. document 4) the same room ("large hall B") is a "hut" located outside the crematorium.

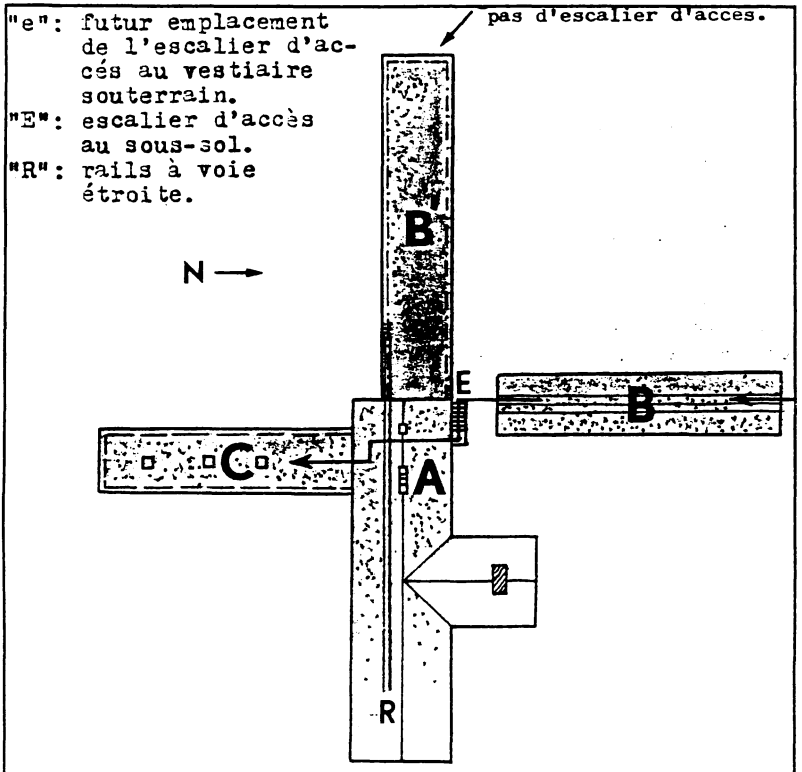


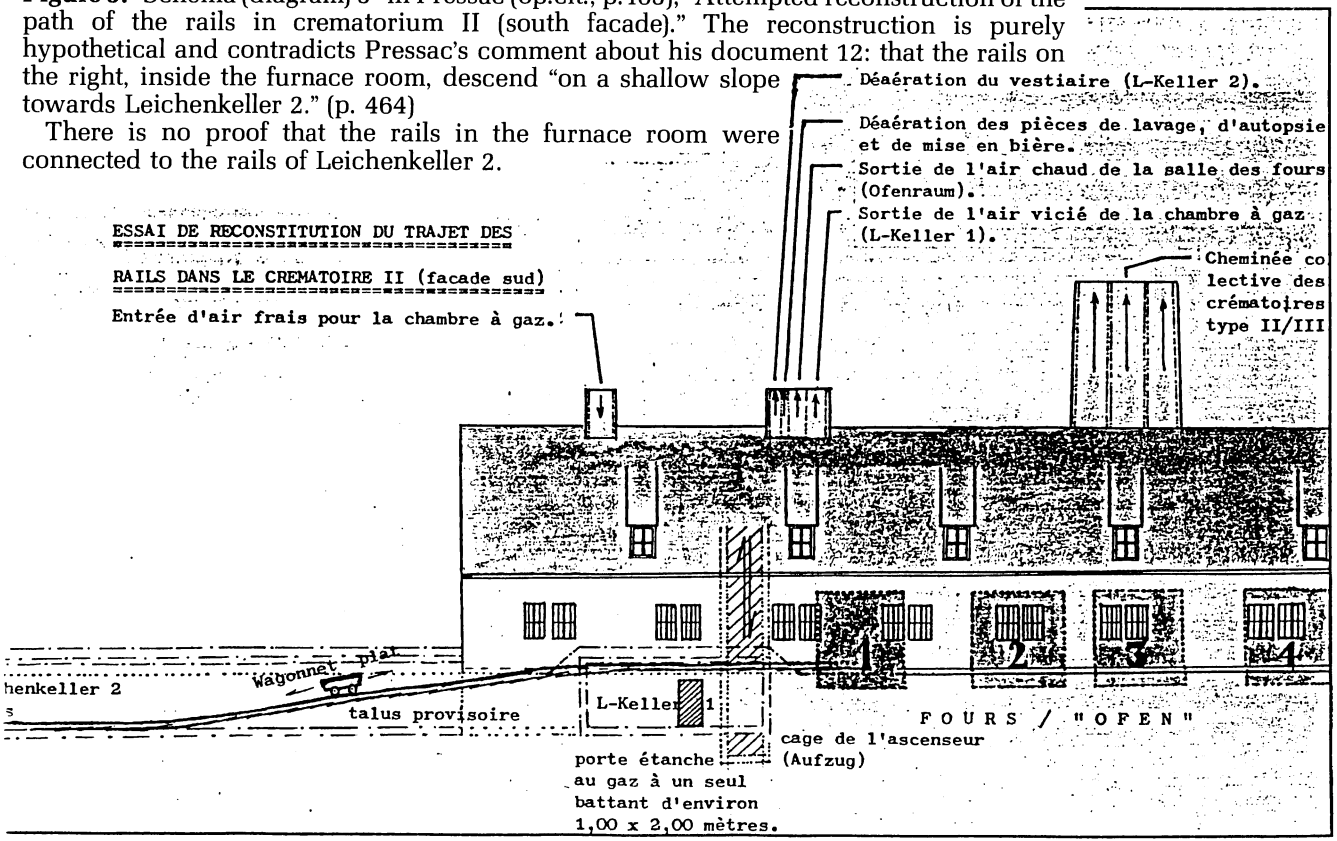
Schéma 2: Le crématoire II avec la baraque-écurie édifiée dans sa cour comme vestiaire provisoire, selon le plan n° 2216 du 20.03.43. En bleu, les rails à voie étroite venant de la L-Keller 2 et aboutissant devant les fours. En rouge, le trajet des victimes du vestiaire extérieur jusqu'à la chambre à gaz.
Légendes:

- A: Salle des fours.
- B: baraque-écurie/vestiaire provisoire.
- B': Leichenkeller 2/vestiaire définitif.
- C: Chambre à gaz ou L-Keller 1

Figure 4. "Schéma (diagram) 2" in Pressac (op.cit., p. 463), Crematorium II with the stable-type hut erected in the yard to serve as a provisional undressing room, as per drawing no. 2216 of 20/3/43. (A = Furnace room; B = stable-type hut/provisional undressing room; B' = morgue 2/undressing room; C = gas chamber or morgue 1; e = future location of stairway leading to underground undressing room [not indicated on Pressac's diagram]; E = elevator; R = narrow-gauge railway.

Figure 5. "Schéma (diagram) 3" in Pressac (op.cit., p.465), "Attempted reconstruction of the path of the rails in crematorium II (south facade)." The reconstruction is purely hypothetical and contradicts Pressac's comment about his document 12: that the rails on the right, inside the furnace room, descend "on a shallow slope towards Leichenkeller 2." (p. 464)

There is no proof that the rails in the furnace room were connected to the rails of Leichenkeller 2.


ESSAI DE RECONSTITUTION DU TRAJET DES
RAILS DANS LE CREMATOIRE II (facade sud)
Entrée d'air frais pour la chambre à gaz.
Déaération du vestiaire (L-Keller 2).
Déaération des pièces de lavage, d'autopsie et de mise en bière.
Sortie de l'air chaud de la salle des fours (Ofenraum).
Sortie de l'air vicié de la chambre à gaz (L-Keller 1).
Cheminée co lective des crématoires type II/III
henkeller 2
talus provisoire
L-Keller 1
porte étanche au gaz à un seul battant d'environ 1,00 x 2,00 mètres.
cage de l'ascenseur (Aufzug)
FOURS / "OFEN"
1
2
3
4

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Revisionism, which has won new allies and new influence, and the corresponding retreat of the Exterminationists, who have been driven to unheard-of concessions during the past year.

Fred Leuchter, who changed history with the two reports that bear his name, reveals the full extent of the frenzied persecution which alien terrorist Beate Klarsfeld has whistled up against him: economic boycott, punitive legislation, and prosecution for daring to give his professional assessment of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Dachau, and Mauthausen. America's leading expert in the design and maintenance of execution systems shows the mettle and reveals some of the strategy by which he intends to hang tough (sorry, but no pun intended) against Klarsfeld and her coven of witch-hunters.

As Mark Weber pointed out in his review of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (in the Summer 1990 *JHR*), Pressac's attempt to defend the Auschwitz myth by publishing and analyzing a wealth of never-before-published documents from Auschwitz has rendered important, if unintentional, service to Revisionism. Carlo Mattogno supplies what will be the first of several in-depth examinations of Pressac's findings to appear in the *JHR* with a painstaking analysis of Pressac's procrustean efforts to square some of the most influential "eye-witness" testimony on the alleged gas chambers with the facts. Mattogno's demolition of both the celebrated Vrba-Wetzler testimony and of Pressac's attempts to salvage it by explaining away some of its manifest absurdities is a *tour de force*, the initial Revisionist counter to an Exterminationist gambit that portends eventual checkmate to the exploiters of the gas-chamber lie.

Nor is that the only battering the Auschwitz myth takes in this fortieth issue: David Irving (whose father was a Royal Navy admiral) turns his guns on what he calls the "battleship Auschwitz" (we can't italicize "Auschwitz" until it's properly commissioned by breaking a bottle of champagne against the wall of Crematorium I). In his informal, and often hilarious remarks to the Tenth Conference, Irving shares a few of the

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Book Reviews

FACES OF THE ENEMY: REFLECTIONS OF THE HOSTILE IMAGINATION by Sam Keen. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986. Hb., 199 pp., illustrated, $19.45; ISBN 0-06-250471-1. (Pb., 1988, illustrated, $12.95; ISBN 0-06-250467-3.)

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Faces of the Enemy is a collection of over three hundred political cartoons, posters and artwork showing how enemies have been depicted in twentieth century war propaganda.

Accompanying these illustrations is an extensive text by Sam Keen, contributing editor to *Psychology Today.* Mr. Keen's idealistic message is that war can be abolished if human beings "change the way we think about enemies and warfare."

In the first paragraph of the introduction he writes:

> In the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We *think* others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them. Propaganda precedes technology.

In chapter after chapter, Keen elaborated upon this theme referring to what he calls "archetypes of the hostile imagination." Sections and illustrations are divided into groups such as "The Enemy as Stranger," "The Enemy as Aggressor," as "Barbarian," "Criminal," "Tortured," "Enemy of God," "Rapist," "Death," Worthy Opponent," and so forth.

Keen's theory that we can "think" away warfare and conflict will have great appeal to many people today, especially the politically immature. But the reader who retains the ability to think rationally will see through Keen's pop psychology.

Keen erroneously labels as "paranoia" all consciousness of "enemies" as in the following passage:

> Consensual paranoia—the pathology of the normal person who is a member of a war-justifying society—forms the template from which all the images of the enemy are created. By studying the logic of paranoia, we can see why certain archetypes of the enemy must necessarily recur, no matter what the historical circumstances.
>
> Paranoia involves a complex of mental, emotional, and social mechanisms by which a person or a people claim righteousness and purity, and attribute hostility and evil to the enemy. The process begins with a splitting of the "good" self, with which we consciously identify and which is celebrated by myth and media, from the "bad" self, which remains unconscious so long as it may be projected onto an enemy.

Keen defines the normal person's thinking about warfare as "paranoia." He is saying that everyone is "sick" and that he has the solution to our mental illness. While it is true that war propaganda frequently contains paranoia and self-deception, it is an error to think that political conflict arises entirely from negative aspects of the so-called "collective unconscious."

Keen's postulation that all manifestation of the "warrior psyche" is "paranoia" contains an inherently hypocritical contradiction. In a section he calls "the normal citizen's version of the Paranoid's Confession," we find this confession of the author:

> If some incarnation of evil as unambiguous as Hitler appeared again, I would have no moral qualms about killing the enemy. But in the modern world of moral murkiness, I prefer to keep my hands as clean of enemy blood as possible.

In later chapters he claims:

> Any depth understanding of the social function of war leads to the conclusion that it was the "good" Germans who created the social ecology that nurtured the Nazis.
>
> It is not difficult to see the roots of the Nazi sadism in the normal methods of German child rearing. I recently did seminars in Germany and found that almost every one in my group had been beaten as a child.

Thus we find that even Sam Keen, the committed peacemaker, ultimately cannot abandon the concept of the "good war" fought against an "evil madman" like Adolf Hitler (or Saddam Hussein).

Faces of the Enemy could have been a valuable book on the methods of propaganda and disinformation if the author had left out his utopian schemes for eternal world peace. The book does contain informative examples of how war propaganda can distort people's thinking.

One illustration demonstrates how "The first casualty when war comes is truth," as U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson said in 1917. A six-panel cartoon depicts a spy in trenchcoat and hat saying:

> Our enemies make nerve gas. So will we.
> They squander their wealth on armaments. So will we.
> They spy on their own citizens. So will we.
> They prevent their people from knowing what they do. So will we.
> We will not let our enemies impose their evil ways on us.
> We'll do it for them.

Propaganda is created and distributed just like any other industrially manufactured consumer product. Those who "manufacture" propaganda are usually far more sophisticated in the technique of pyschological warfare than those who are being targeted.

Modification of normal language into euphemism is one kind of pyschological warfare. Killing civilians becomes "collateral damage," defoliating entire areas with Agent Orange is "an environmental adjustment," a nine-megaton warhead is transformed into "a potentially disruptive re-entry system." The United States invasion of Grenada was described first as a "rescue mission" and then as "a pre-dawn vertical insertion."

Keen gives examples of how we demonize the enemy. War propaganda tends to claim that only the enemy kills civilians, tortures POWs, and practices aggression and imperialism. The news and entertainment media, which have great power in creating public opinion, tend to suppress all reports that "our boys" are committing similar atrocities to win a war.

Faces of the Enemy is ultimately a disappointing and disturbing book. Some naive and unsophisticated souls will wholeheartedly believe this misguided manifesto for "world peace." Keen's preaching fails to recognize that conflict is a perpetual reality in this world. Conflict *precedes* propaganda and the technology of warfare. Not all enemies are figments of our imagination.

True pacifists are extremely rare in this world. The reason for this is that aggression, a competitive nature, and group solidarity are traits that confer distinct advantages for survival to animals and *Homo sapiens* alike.

The existence in the modern world of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons does not change the dynamics of conflict and competition. What is changed is that the "game" of politics is now a lot more serious and dangerous. This is made abundantly clear by the current situation in the Middle East.

Certainly there are often ways in which conflict between individuals, groups or nations can be resolved peacefully. Yet the psychological and political solutions advocated in *Faces of the Enemy* are ultimately subversive. At one point the author proposes that we should "let the familar become strange and the strange familar—the two rules of creativity." He is advocating the total inversion of all values.

In addition to his radical program of "behavior modification," Keen recommends "effective world government and international law" as the political solution to warfare. The subversive character of Keen's thesis comes in his psychological undermining of the organically structured groups in which people normally function. These are family, religion, community, race and nation. His sugar-coated proposals would eventually destroy these, leaving only the alienated indiviudal and the all-powerful world superstate. This "new world order" would be the end of Western Civilization.

Battleship Auschwitz

DAVID IRVING

(Remarks presented to the
Tenth International Revisionist Conference
With an Introduction by Mark Weber)

Ladies and gentlemen, we are very pleased and honored to once again welcome to this podium the distinguished British historian, Mr. David Irving. As many of those here this afternoon will recall, he also addressed the IHR conferences of 1983 and 1989.

David Irving was born in Essex, England in 1938, the son of a Royal Navy Commander. After education at London University, our next speaker spent a year working in a German steel mill to perfect his fluency in German. In the years since, he has firmly established himself as not only one of the most courageous historians of this or any age, but also as one of the most successful and widely read: several of his many books have been best-sellers.

His first work, *The Destruction of Dresden*, was published in 1963, when he was twenty-five years old. This was followed by many other books, including *The Mare's Nest: The Secret Weapons of the Third Reich*, published in 1964, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe, The German Atomic Bomb, The War Between the Generals* and *The Trail of the Fox*, a best-selling biography of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel. Several of his books have appeared in various languages, and several have been serialized in periodicals including the *Sunday Express*, the *Sunday Telegraph* and *Der Spiegel*.

Over the years our next speaker has contributed articles to some 60 British and foreign periodicals including the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sunday Express* in London and *Der Stern* and *Der Spiegel* in Germany. You'd need a wheelbarrow to carry

away all the newspaper and magazine clippings that have been written about him.

Mr. Irving has a track record of uncovering startling new facts about supposedly well-known episodes of history. Much of his effectiveness is due to his extensive reliance on original source materials, such as diaries, original documents and so forth, from both official and private sources. He is tenacious in his ceaseless digging in just about every important historical archive in the Western world. He has little respect for colleagues who are guilty of what he calls inter-historian incest, and who have thereby helped to keep alive myths and legends left over from Second World War propaganda. British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper once said of Irving: "He is one of the few guys I would entirely trust. Indefatigable in the pursuit of evidence, fearless in face of it, sound in judgment."

Well, Irving's reputation took a beating following the publication in 1977 of *Hitler's War*, a monumental work that was hysterically criticized for its contention that Hitler did not order the extermination of Europe's Jews: the mass killings must have been carried out by Himmler and his cohorts behind Hitler's back, Irving concluded at that time. So enraged was the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by Irving's book that the shadowy organization promptly added his name to its ever-growing list of enemies.

As it turned out, though, the ADL's troubles with David Irving were only just beginning. The campaign against him became even more emotional and intense following the publication, in 1981, of *Uprising*, an unvarnished history of the 1956 anti-Communist revolt in Hungary. This book enraged the ADL crowd because it does not whitewash the significant Jewish role in the Hungarian Communist regime.

In 1987, the first volume of Irving's monumental biography of Winston Churchill, a work representing ten years of reasearch and writing, was published in Australia. And last year Irving's biography of Hermann Göring was published by William Morrow.

A startling climax in the second Holocaust trial in 1988 of Ernst Zündel was the testimony of our next speaker, who was the last of twenty-three defense witnesses. Irving stunned the completely packed Toronto courtroom by announcing that he had changed his mind about the Holocaust story. During his three days on the stand, he explained in detail why he now accepts the Revisionist view of the extermination story.

As a kind of one-man IHR, David Irving has made highly successful speaking and promotional tours in West Germany, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United States and other countries. German listeners delight in hearing an Englishman say out loud what many in that country believe in their souls, but have been intimidated to keep to themselves. In Germany Irving has become a kind of conscience for a people who have been all but robbed of their own.

During this past year, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet-Communist domination of Eastern Europe, Irving has made triumphal speaking visits in what was the East German Democratic Republic. Last February, he addressed a large audience in Dresden on the 45th anniversary of the Allied firebombing of that once beautiful, baroque city. Large posters with Irving's picture appeared throughout Dresden to announce his presentation. He was greeted with flowers by the city's cultural affairs director, and was interviewed on East German television. When he appeared on stage before the microphones, more than a thousand people gave him a standing ovation. Speaking in fluent German, he recounted Winston Churchill's campaign to obliterate German cities. Irving's appearance in Dresden on the anniversary of the firebombing was also noteworthy because his first book, the one that launched his career, was about this very event. Irving concluded his address in Dresden with these words: "Ladies and gentlemen, survivors and descendants of the holocaust of Dresden, the holocaust of Germans in Dresden really happened. That of the Jews in the gas chambers of Auschwitz is an invention. I am ashamed to be an Englishman."

As can be imagined, these final, provocative words resulted in a spirited discussion with journalists, which immediately followed his speech. During this exchange, Irving explained the significance of Fred Leuchter's investigations and findings, and he characterized the gas chamber stories as an invention of Allied war-time propaganda.

Last June, Irving returned for another speaking tour in what was still the German Democratic Republic. In spite of a ten-mark admission fee, large crowds came to hear him speak in Leipzig, Gera, and again in Dresden. Interestingly, his audiences were mostly younger Germans; middle-aged and elderly people were in the minority. By contrast Irving's treatment during the past year in West Germany and Austria has not always been as cordial.

In Austria, following the violent demonstration staged in Vienna by Jewish groups, a warrant was issued for his arrest. Even though his speaking tour scheduled for November of 1989 had been approved by the Austrian Interior Ministry months earlier, he was not permitted to speak in that country. Irving has initiated legal proceedings to overturn this ban. In West Germany, police forbade him, at the last minute, from addressing a mass rally on March 10, of some 8,000 people in Passau, organized by the German People's Union. He was the only speaker who was so forbidden to speak. Irving is now also fighting this ban through the courts. One bright side to this affair is that Irving's forbidden speech was recorded elsewhere on videotape, and is now being widely sold.

Some weeks later, Irving was arrested after addressing a sell-out crowd in Munich's famed Löwenbräu beer-hall on April 21st. This was followed by a spontaneous demonstration of some 250 supporters who carried posters of Irving, Faurisson and Zündel. After the crowd made its way past the historic Feldherrnhalle, police waded in and arrested about 10 of the demonstrators.

In June of 1989, David Irving published a British edition of the *Leuchter Report*. This handsome, illustrated edition, for which he wrote a foreword, was launched by him at a press conference in London. He told the journalists there that the infamous extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz and Majdanek did not exist, except perhaps, as the brain-child invention of Britain's war-time propaganda bureau, the Psychological Warfare Executive. More than 100 members of the British House of Commons, signed a statement condemning the Irving edition of the *Report* as "evil." Of course this statement made no effort to refute the *Report*'s findings.

Earlier this year a new American edition of Irving's book *Hitler's War* was published in paperback by Avon books. It combines earlier editions of two books: *The War Path* and *Hitler's War*. Taking into account his most recent research and insights, all references to so-called extermination camps were removed from this new revised edition. And in his introduction, Irving blasts one historical legend after another. The very fact that this iconoclastic work was published by a major New York publisher, is itself a gratifying victory over the dark forces that have been working over time to silence him.

David Irving is currently at work on more books that promise to raise even more hackles. One of them will be entitled *Roosevelt's War.* He is also working on a biography of Hitler's propaganda chief, Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, once warned: ". . . that historians are dangerous because they have the power to upset everything." Our next speaker is just such an historian. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck once said that "the main thing is not to write history, but to make it." David Irving is a man who has been able to do some of both. He is also living proof that the life of an historian need not be dull.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I'm sure that in the first part of my talk this evening, nobody is going to accuse me of having any respect for taste! One or two things that Mark Weber didn't mention—that I'll bring out in some detail—is my criminal career over the last 12 months.

It began almost exactly a year ago, October the 3rd, in Berlin. I was invited to go to Berlin by Sender Freies Berlin, the biggest government television station in Berlin, to take part in a round table discussion with Germany's leading historians on some historical matter (I forget what the exact detail was), on a television program called Berliner Salon. The producer of the program had telephoned me in London and said: "Mr. Irving, I attach very great importance in your coming to take part in this program, I've always been a huge admirer of your works and I've been wanting for years to have you as a participant in our round table weekly discussion program." And I said, "who else is going to be present?" And he said: "Oh, Eberhard Jäckel of the University of Stüttgart and Professor Arno Mayer of the University of Princeton . . .," and he reeled off a list of names and I had to say to him: "Excuse me, but do these gentlemen know that I am invited too?" "No problem," he said, "no problem!"

"Well," he said, "you're going to be staying in the Hotel Kempinski and we want you to fly down to Berlin on such and such a flight with British Airways, and you can stay there a couple of days. We have everything laid on." So I made the bookings, and made the reservation for the Hotel Kempinski, and a week later, shortly before the program was due to go on, I got an embarrassed phone call from Sender Freies Berlin

saying: "I'm sorry, Mr. Irving, I'm going to have to un-invite you, because all the German historians invited have refused to sit at the same table with you."

This is, of course, not a new phenomenon. They know they can't debate. They can debate with each other because they're all on the same wave-length. They all speak the same lies. But they are not prepared to debate with somebody who comes from outside their particular mafia. So I said to Sender Freies Berlin: "Well, I'm very sorry for my part, because I have bought the airline ticket already, and I made the booking to the Hotel Kempinski, and I'm going to be there!" He said: "No, no, Herr Irving, you don't understand, we are not inviting you on to the program!" So I said: "That's all right, you don't have to worry about that, I won't be in the studio." And he said: "Where will you be then?" and I said: "Outside the studio, with my friends."

And so I staged a demonstration in Berlin's Masurenallee outside the headquarters of Sender Freies Berlin with a few of my friends. Mr. Ernst Zündel had a major part in providing these friends, whom I didn't know previously, for me, and we paraded up and down for an hour outside the television headquarters with all the press watching. We were carrying banners and placards which read, in English and in German: "German Historians – Liars and Cowards!" in English and German, so that even the thickest German journalists could understand what the message was.

I only mention this fact to legitimize myself as some kind of prophet. Because that day was October the third—not this year, not the famous historical October the third, 1990, but October the third, 1989. On that morning, in order to rub salt in the wounds of the German historical profession, I had arranged a press conference in the Hotel Kempinski in Berlin, with all the German press invited: the television, the radio, and the print media and thirty or forty journalists did turn up.

So with them all sitting in front of me around a table at the Hotel Kempinski, (I don't know what came over me, I wanted to make them feel really awkward), I said: "You know, you're not going to believe what I'm about to tell you, but twelve months from now, Germany will be re-united."

I thought, I know these journalists, there's no thought that they would loathe more than the idea of Germany being united and great once again. So I said to them, October the third last

year: "Twelve months from now, Germany will be united," and by jove, I got it right down to the last pound, shilling and penny!

A few weeks later I was making a speaking tour around Austria, and our last couple of speaking events were going to be in Salzburg, and, I think, Innsbruck. By that time the Austrian police were hot on my trail: there were police down at the reception desk of the hotel looking for me, so I managed to get out through the restaurant in the back. We re-arranged the meeting, not in Salzburg, but over the border in Freilassing. But hardly anybody turned up!

This really baffled me. But the reason was that that evening was November the ninth last year, and everybody was at home glued to the TV set because the Berlin Wall had come down. A couple of weeks after that, the *Daily Telegraph* in London reported for the first time what I had said on October the third at the press conference, printing in a gossip column that Mr. Irving was the only person who said, at a press conference on October the third, that Germany would probably be re-united within twelve months.

Even at that time, in November of 1989, nobody was talking about re-unification of Germany. The *Daily Telegraph* asked me: "Mr. Irving, why didn't any of the German newspapers report, at the time, what you had said?" And I said: "Journalists everywhere have the same unifying feature, they all have all the horizon of a lavatory lid. They can't see that far. They can't see the way that historians can." And I mentioned this fact to the head of the West German Military Archives, Manfred Kehrig—remember that name, Major Manfred Kehrig—head of the Military Archives in Freiburg. One of Germany's leading military historians, he wrote the standard history of Stalingrad—a first-rate German historian. I saw him at the beginning of September of this year, and he said: "Well, Irving, I came to the same conclusion that you did, about six months before you. I was in Potsdam too, at the East German Military Archives, and I saw the way the East German soldiers were behaving." They actually stayed out all night just drinking beer in the local park—the first signs of total breakdown of the system. Major Kehrig also predicted that German unity was ahead, but he didn't put an exact time limit on it.

I think that this shows what I have always maintained, that if you keep your nose glued to the archives—if you keep your

nose glued to the documents—then you are going to be that much closer to getting things right.

Just picture me seven years ago, in 1983. I'm at the press conference of the West German magazine *Der Stern*, in Hamburg. I'd been smuggled in disguised as a reporter for *Bild-Zeitung*, which is the opposition newspaper group in Germany. I was very familiar with the Hitler case: I'd spent twenty years of my life studying the story of Adolf Hitler. I'd built up a personal card index on his life—about 30,000 index cards—and when they told me that they were about to publish the Hitler diaries, I knew it was phony! So *Bild-Zeitung* said: "Will you come along disguised as our press correspondent and attend this damned press conference and blow it up for them?" So I went along. I was the first one at the microphone, and I was the first one to have the chance to ask the people at *Der Stern* certain questions. I said right out: "The diaries are fake—the Adolf Hitler diaries are fake!" They'd spent nine million deutschmarks on them! And all the German historians had said they were genuine. Eberhard Jäckel had said they were genuine, so they must be genuine—but they weren't.

I got the same kind of feeling about the Holocaust. (I'm going to come to Rommel further on.) But it's the same story, because when we come to look at the story of Field Marshall Rommel, and the legend that he was a member of the anti-Hitler resistance movement, that he was a hero of the twentieth of July, 1944, a story that has come down for forty years, since World War Two—we find that nobody has bothered to go back and look at the actual records. They all believed what everybody else had written about him. And it isn't until you go back and look at the records that you realize that the truth is somewhere else.

This is how it was when I was in Toronto a couple of years ago. I was called as an expert witness as a historian to give evidence at the Ernst Zündel case, where Zündel's researchers showed me the *Leuchter Report*, the laboratory tests on the crematoria and the gas chambers. As a person who, at University in London, studied chemistry and physics and the exact sciences, I knew that this was an exact result. There was no way around it. And suddenly all that I'd read in the archives clicked into place. You have to accept that, if there is no evidence anywhere in the archives that there were any gassings going on; that if there's not one single German

document that refers to the gassings of human beings—not one wartime German document; and if there is no reference anywhere in the German archives to anybody giving orders for the gassings of people, and if, on the other hand, the forensic tests of the laboratories, of the crematoria, and the gas chambers and Auschwitz and so on, show that there is no trace, no significant residue whatsoever of a cyanide compound, then this can all only mean one thing.

So how do we explain the fact that for forty-five years since the end of World War Two, we have all, internationally, globally, been beset by a common guilt: the idea that the human race was responsible for liquidating six million human beings in gas chambers? Well, the answer is: we have been subjected to the biggest propaganda offensive that the human race has ever known. It's been conducted with such finesse, with such refinement, with such financial clout, that we have not been able to recognize it as a propaganda offensive—from start to finish. And yet there are these weapons cruising past us on the horizon—in all their ugliness—and the biggest weapon, of course, of all in this propaganda campaign against the truth since 1945 has been the great battleship Auschwitz! And we have now, at last, the historical profession—above all, the Revisionist historical profession—have found as our own task, the major task: "Sink the Auschwitz!"

I warned you I was going to show no respect for taste in the first part of this talk. Sink the Auschwitz! But we haven't had to sink the Auschwitz, because the crew of the Auschwitz, Beate Klarsfeld, the Wiesenthals, Eli Wiesel and the rest of them, have been struggling on the bridge and battling with each other—boxing and engaging in fisticuffs—and the Auschwitz has been steering amongst the icebergs, and finally it has begun to scuttle itself. They've begun to haul down the flag of the battleship Auschwitz. They've taken down the placard, they've taken down the memorial to the four million, and they've replaced it with a rather smaller memorial to one million.

Of course that's not the end of the story. I'm convinced that it's just the "interim memorial." I think it's on cardboard, if you have a close look, because why waste money on an expensive memorial when you're only going to have to change it again in a few months time! They're going to have to change it because

it's quite obvious. I'm not going to say only a million—I'm not going to say *only* any figure died in Auschwitz. We don't know the exact figures of how many people died in Auschwitz.

The Russians have helped us: the Russians released in September last year, September 21, the Auschwitz death books. That was an ugly blow for the battleship Auschwitz and its crew. Because the Russians, by releasing the forty-six death books of Auschwitz—which cover the years 1942 completely, 1943 almost completely, and 1944 incompletely—the Russians have revealed that the set of Auschwitz death books, which they have released, now shows, a total of 74,000 deaths. 74,000 deaths by all causes.

Now the Jewish professor, Arno Mayer, whom I greatly respect, who is one of those who managed to get through to the Sender Freies Berlin television program—who wasn't uninvited so he must be okay—Arno Mayer, of Princeton University, tells us in his book *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* that of those who died in Auschwitz and other concentration camps, probably far more than half died of natural causes—whatever you can call natural causes in wartime. Of course the very phrase is suspect. But that means—whatever it does mean—that less than half was killed. Which means less than half of 74,000 people were killed in Auschwitz. Let's be generous and say 40,000 may have been killed in Auschwitz over the three years—that's a bad figure! That's a grave crime, it's almost as many people as we British killed in Hamburg in *one night.*

This is cutting things down to size. When the Germans use that dreaded word, *relativieren*, meaning you are trying to compare things, you are trying to belittle things, the answer is: "Yes, I'm trying to cut legends down to size because that is the job of the historian." Winston Churchill himself said the job of the historian is to find out what happened and why. The German historians haven't even begun to take the first step on the bottom rung of the ladder. They haven't really found out what happened. There they were, all believing the four million figure, until somebody down in Israel said: "Oh no, not four million, there's only one million." Oh yes, one million! The Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich: "One million! *Wir sind immer davon ausgegangen!* (We always assumed it was one million.)" That was what they told the press, they always assumed it was one million. They just forgot to tell their own

government. And, of course, they didn't tell the German people. And now, of course, the German people say yes, but what about the six million! Oh, the six million . . . and that figure stays.

Now if you go to a grocer's shop and you buy six kilos of potatoes, and all you get is two kilos left in the bag and the grocer still charges you for the six . . . Which is what happened to the Germans: they've had to pay 150 billion deutschmarks, in compensation. So the grocer says: "You're still going to have to pay for the six kilos," then you're entitled to call that a bit of a rap! You buy six liters of milk and you find that the jug's only got 2 liters in it and the milkman says: "I'm sorry, madam, you're still going to have to pay for the six, and that's the way it is." That, too, is a swindle.

That's what's happening in Germany now. They're still sticking to the six million figure. And they're still being told that they were gassed. Although all the evidence runs the other way. To me, Auschwitz is unimportant—I'm happy that the ship is scuttling itself. It's vanishing. It's going to be left like the battleship *Arizona* at Pearl—if you ever go to Hawaii and have a look at it—with just its mast sticking out of the water to mark where once a great legend stood. And when people go there a hundred years from now and say: "Down there is the most incredible legend that people believed for fifty years: it's the great battleship Auschwitz, it was scuttled by its crew!"

Why don't we have to believe it? Well, you know about the *Leuchter Report.* Let me give you a few other reasons why you don't have to believe it. There's a British official government historian, Professor F.H. Hinsley. Now Professor F.H. Hinsley, a professor of history at the University of Cambridge, was in our intelligence service during World War Two at the code breaking establishment, GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters). You might wonder what that's got to do with Auschwitz. Well, it answers one problem. People will come along from now until eternity, particularly the Holocaust historians, and they'll say: "How do we know the Germans haven't destroyed all the records of their gassings?"

Suppose they did—and believe me that isn't easy. Go down the road to Pennsylvania Avenue to the National Archives, have a look at the existing German records there: 30, 50, 100 thousand pounds of records—you can't destroy all the records.

Even if you destroy the top copy, there are half-a-dozen carbon copies—there are half-a-dozen teleprinter print-outs that have gone all down through the chain of command. There are people who have kept private diaries. There are the private letters that people have written home. That's why for twenty years I've been saying: "I'll give a thousand pounds to anyone who can find one single war-time document showing that Adolf Hitler even knew about Auschwitz, or whatever was going on, whatever it was!" And I repeated that challenge all the way around the world on television programs. I used to take the trouble of actually taking the thousand pounds out of my inside pocket and show it on the screen—they can't find any evidence!

But then people would say: "But suppose the Germans did destroy it all?"

All right, how about this: suppose we British were reading all the German signals. Suppose we British had an organization called GCHQ with 3,000 code-breakers taking every single German teleprinter message—everything that was sent by radio. And we did. Suppose we were managing, from 1942 to the end of 1943, to read the entire radio coded traffic between Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen and the other concentration camps, on the one hand, and the headquarters in Berlin, Wirtschafts und Verwaltungs-hauptamt, Oswald Pohl's unit, on the other hand.

We were doing it, ladies and gentlemen. We British were breaking and reading the codes of the SS, reading the daily reports between the commandant of Auschwitz and the headquarters in Berlin and all the other concentration camps! And we knew exactly what he was reporting to Berlin about what was going on.

The German texts of these decoded telegrams are in the British secret service archives now. I'll tell you what they say in sum; I don't exactly know what they say verbatim because the British government, for reasons we in this room could only surmise, is refusing to release the exact text of the telegrams. But they've been good enough, in an appendix to Volume II of the British official history, the government history of the British secret service, to tell us what we can learn from these telegrams.

Each day the daily telegrams reported back to Berlin: the number of prisoners who had arrived that morning at each

camp; the number of prisoners who left that day from each camp; the number of prisoners left in each camp at the end of the day. In addition, under a fourth heading was a category described, oddly enough, as "other losses"—*Abgänge aller Art.* And the British secret service deduced that "other losses" were mostly losses caused by deaths. According to the British official history, "in the case of Auschwitz, most of these other losses turned out to have been due to illness. The remainder were partly accounted for by executions, which are described as having been executions by hanging and executions by shooting. There are no references to any gassings in Auschwitz."

But on the other hand, the great big battleship Auschwitz, this lie that's been cruising around for the last 45 years, has told us that that's what Auschwitz was about! That Auschwitz was there purely as a kind of *Endstation*, or terminus. That the trains arrived in Auschwitz, and disgorged their masses of helpless, pitiful humanity, all of whom were Jews, of course, in the present perception. And they were then kind of channeled through the extermination procedure, where they were gassed. Not a single word of this is in the messages that the British government was decoding throughout the years 1942 and 1943. And have you seen any reference to this British government finding anywhere in the newspapers? No.

I think it's courageous enough of Professor Hinsley that he's allowed himself that one dangerous sentence. He could quite easily have gotten away without putting it in at all. "There are no references to any gassings in Auschwitz." A brave man. That, unfortunately, is the situation. We who venture much further out along that particular gangplank, we know that at any time we're liable to be prodded off into the crocodile-infested seas, where the crocodiles swimming around all look remarkably like Simon Wiesenthal.

But what about the eye-witnesses? The eye-witness who saw it all happening? Well, we account for them—we've got equal amounts of eye-witnesses who saw gas chambers in Dachau, happening. Well, we know there weren't any gas chambers operating there.

What about the photographs? Well, I know that there are a number of Germans here in the audience tonight, so I would like to tell you one particular episode that has caused me great pleasure in the last fews days.

It is this: you were subjected to a series of films in Germany, I think there were four or five television films during last spring, May, this year. A particular nasty couple, Lea Rousch and Eberhard Jäckel. Lea Rousch, is a very well-known Jewish television journalist in Germany, and only marginally more beautiful than Simon Wiesenthal himself. On the other hand is Eberhard Jäckel, the head of the University of Stuttgart history department. Eberhard Jäckel was historical consultant and advisor and Lea Rousch was the person who no doubt pieced this apalling four-part series together.

It had the title *Der Tod: Ein Meister aus Deutschland* (*Death: A Master from Germany*), and it dredged through and crawled through all the slime. All the propaganda slime that's been churned up by this particular propaganda campaign for the last forty-five years! And one particular episode that was screened, the 35th minute of the second episode in May of this year, showed trainloads of Jews being hauled out of a station in Romania. A picture was flashed on the screen of the trainloads of Jews in open coal cars. These people standing pitifully packed into open coal cars, and the voice-over said: "Here they are, being shipped off to the extermination camps at Treblinka and Auschwitz." Well, I had to write a letter to Eberhard Jäckel now, saying:

> Dear Professor Jäckel, dear colleague:
>
> It's come to my attention that the picture you've used in the film does not show Romanian Jews being packed into coal cars and shipped off to extermination camps at Auschwitz. If you look in the railway archives at the Hamburg Hauptbahnhof [Central Station], you'll find that it is, in fact, a platform of the Hamburg Hauptbahnhof in 1946, one year after the war was over. And the correct caption on the photograph is: "Germans from Hamburg packing into a coal train to go on a shopping expedition to the Ruhr."

That's the truth! And I wrote to Professor Jäckel:

> If you don't believe it, next time you're in Hamburg, call in at the inner city restaurant, the railway station restaurant at Hamburg central station, and you'll see that picture's displayed on the wall there among a series of photographs of life in Allied occupied Germany. [And there it is, in a display showing nostalgic views out of the immediate post-war period.] Or perhaps that was your original source! May I recommend in the future that you restrict your research to the archives and less to the railway station restaurant.

It's great fun being a historian, as you can see, you have little jolly moments.

Working in the British Public Records Office, I noticed in a catalog, a file on Zyklon B. So, I thought, let's have a look at that. And it comes out to me, a British Intelligence file on Zyklon B from the War Department files in Britain. It's a file of correspondence between MI6, the British Secret Service, and the London Fumigation Company in the post-war years, in which MI6 is trying to find out what the links were between the London Fumigation Company, on the one hand, which manufactured Zyklon B as a fumigation and disinfestation poison, and I.G. Farben and Degesch, on the other hand, in Germany. They wanted to find out which was the corporation which first invented this substance, this cyanide-based compound, and which was the one that had just bought the license, and so on. Unimportant for me, but there are some very nice photographs of some tins of Zyklon B in the file. But what caught my eye was the fact, that, in 1946 the London Fumigation Company had as its telegraphic address: Zyklon-London!

When in Freiburg at the beginning of last month, in September, I called on a very old friend of mine, the head of the history department at the University of Freiburg, in Germany. They're all my friends, you see, all these German historians in private.

He invited me up for a bottle of wine, and we sat up talking til 2 or 3 in the morning, exchanging notes and comparing sources. In public, of course, they won't be seen dead with me, but in private, they need me. And dear Professor Berndt Martin, who's been a friend of mine for twenty years, said: "Irving, the problem with you is that you've never been to Auschwitz. I have been to Auschwitz two or three times." And I said: "So?" He said: "Now the head of the museum and archives at Auschwitz is a personal friend of mine over many years now." I said, "Oh, you mean Franciszek Piper." He said: "Oh yes, Franciszek Piper, a very close friend of mine over several years—and I remember the last time I went to see Auschwitz I, which is where the tourists are shown, and you're completely wrong about the gas chambers, Irving. There are gas chambers—there were gas chambers—there's no question at all."

He said, "Auschwitz I, of course, is a bit of a problem, and I did point this out to Franciszek Piper. I said: 'Herr Piper, you know I'm an intelligent man, I've had a look at the crematorium here, and the thing that you're showing to the tourists as a gas chamber, between you and me, it is phony, isn't it?'"

And Martin said to me (this conversation actually did occur in September—the third, this year), Martin said to me: "But Piper, [who is the man who ordered the reduction of the figure from four million to one million] said, 'Well, between you and me, you're right! We have built this purely for the tourists.'"

How about that! An admission, ladies and gentlemen, that in Auschwitz I, *der Stammlager* Auschwitz, the crematorium and the gas chambers that are shown to tourists from all over the world, are a post-war dummy, put up for the benefit of the tourists! Something that we've always suspected, something that we've particularly suspected since the *Leuchter Report* came into our hands. But Professor Martin, bless his heart, this German historian said: "Mr. Irving, but of course, that's just in Auschwitz I. In Birkenau [3 or 5 kilometers away], that's where the genuine gas chambers were!" It never occured to him to ask the logical question: why show dummies to the tourists, when you've got the genuine ones 3 to 5 kilometers away? So who are the dummies now? Not just the gas chambers, but the tourists, too!

But I have to admit that it wasn't until the next morning, when I wrote a note on the conversation with Martin, and it suddenly occured to me, the gravity of what he'd said. Here's a German historian who accepts this quite absurd abomination that it's perfectly obvious that the gas chambers shown to the tourists are, in fact, dummies! It's a criminal offense to say that in Germany now. I have a case pending against me in Munich now because I'd said that to a mass-meeting of a thousand people at Löwenbräu beer hall in Munich. (Well, that's not the only reason. I'm also supposed to have led a demonstration out from the Hotel Hohenzollern in Munich; according to the police allegation, the docket, on me: "David Irving staged a street march to celebrate Adolf Hitler's birthday on April the 21st." Now the experts among you will notice a small anachronism there.)

Anyway, I'd written to Professor Martin and said: "Will you confirm this please, in writing: that my understanding of what you've told me is correct?" I'm waiting for a reply.

I don't think he's going to venture that far out along the gangplank behind me. As I say, the battleship is scuttling itself. We can leave it—it will quietly founder all by itself, like the *Graf Spee* went down. We can continue firing our torpedos at it. Hardly any need! Or to make another analogy, they realized they are way out of line with the Auschwitz story and they are frantically enganged in damage control at present. They're pulling their entire army of liars back from the main battlefront into the second line, because all the artillery is coming down on the frontline now and it's making it too dangerous for them.

When I went to see Professor Martin, he asked: "What are you working on now?" And I said: "Well, Professor Martin, I'm working, in fact, on the biography of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Propaganda Minister." In fact, I can tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have now received from the Russians—I'm the only person to have it—the Goebbels diaries for the whole of 1938! It's a beast, it's written in hand-writing, it's a thousand pages of hand-writing—but it's worth it. Because when you read Goebbels's diary—it contains real insights into Hitler's character!

For example, a few days after the Anschluss between Germany and Austria, Goebbels writes in his diary a complaint: he says Heydrich, the chief of the Gestapo, is now down in Vienna, and that Heydrich has ordered the carrying out of a number of forbidden executions and that the Führer is hopping mad at this. It's an interesting point. It's what we all have suspected was going on: that the underlings were carrying out certain orders and carrying out executions and Hitler was only finding out about these things far too late.

Berndt Martin, the professor at the University of Freiburg, said: "Mr. Irving, very interesting. Do you know who's buried here in the local village churchyard, near Freiburg?" I said: "Who is that?" He said: "Goebbels's first mistress. She was buried here 30 years ago. They just leveled in the grave two years ago when they found out who she was." That's how things are in Germany. It's criminal. So I said, "You mean Anke Starhelm." He said, "Yes, that's right, she died here thirty years ago."

Down in Freiburg lives an old woman who was a friend of hers, and Anke Starhelm, Goebbels's first girlfriend gave this old woman all her letters. Aha! Needless to say, 24 hours later I was the proud possesser of all the letters and all the photographs. That's the way it works.

Because, once again, I'm not going to read other peoples's books. I'm just interested in what the documents show.

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secrets) of the lonely trade of the independent historian, above all eye-opening revelations from the mouths of the court historians on the phoniness which enshrouds the official version. Sink the Auschwitz! (By the way, we hope readers will profit from the entertaining and informative rundown of David Irving's career with which conference emcee Mark Weber introduced our extraordinary guest.)

These important articles left room for a single review, Jack Wikoff's deft deflation of a pop-psychological attempt to grapple with wartime propaganda, which is nevertheless, according to our reviewer, not without its merits.

Last but not least is a tribute to the late A.J.P. Taylor, the immensely influential English historian whose classic *Origins of the Second World War*, published in 1961, was the first attempt by an Establishment historian to apportion responsibility for the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 objectively. According to Harry Elmer Barnes, the publication of that classic (still available for purchase from the Institute for Historical Review) "must be regarded as one of the most courageous acts in the whole history of historical writing." Sam Konkin's brief valedictory pays homage to the virtues of this last exemplar of the values of classical liberalism.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

The Last Liberal Historian:
A.J.P. Taylor, March 25, 1906—Sept. 7, 1990

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III

Alan John Percivale Taylor, Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, may not have shared the religion of his co-Fellow, C.S. Lewis, but he turned into a similar lamp-post of unyielding virtue. For Taylor, a Labour Party supporter and vigorous supporter of "preparedness" and opposition to Third Reich aggression, his moment of conversion came as he rummaged through the files of the captured Reichstag, trusted by the new Atlee government to come to the correct conclusions concerning responsibility for the largest orgy of death and destruction in mankind's history, known as World War II. Taylor found that nearly everything that had been told to him up through 1939 by the English Establishment was a lie.

He said so, and published the exhaustive analysis of British and German diplomacy leading up to the conflagration in *The Origins of The Second World War* in 1961. Diehard Isolationists and Revisionist historians, such as Harry Elmer Barnes, were thunderstruck that such a work could come from the highest court of the Court Historians. Taylor himself was uneasy with the embrace of these unpleasant "American" Revisionists, but stuck to his guns and fearlessly used his *cachets* in "polite society" to defend his thesis in academe and even on the BBC. His well-established dislike of Germany made his heresy towards casting sole blame on it for World War II impossible to dismiss.

Amazingly, he survived and continued to publish one of the longest lists of historical works—and one of the broadest, ranging throughout British history (*Beaverbrook, Lloyd George, Essays in English History*) to Russian, German, Italian and Austrian histories.

Taylor seemed a paradox (he loved and used paradox stylistically as much as Lewis and G.K. Chesterton), but the solution was to realize he was a classical liberal who had survived into an age where the few remaining political Liberals could not make up their minds whether to emulate Conservatives or Socialists. *The Economist* portrayed him, in their obituary, as a useful gadfly or "troublemaker."[1] It dismissed his devastating critique of the Western responsibility for World War II with "A bad-tempered controversy over the origins of the second world war did not seriously dent his reputation." It does note his support for "radical causes, notably the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," but mentions nothing about his on-the-money analysis in the *Guardian* (read by this writer when it was published) of the Irish Question, concluding that the British go home and leave the Northern Irish to resolve their own political fate.

Taylor won no favor with Establishment Left or Right. Oxford refused to promote him to a professorship and terminated his special lectureship in international history. When asked if history is cyclical (Oswald Spengler's view), Taylor replied that it was not history which repeats itself but historians who repeat each other.

It is highly doubtful as to whether History will repeat itself with anyone else like A.J.P. Taylor, who gave up the struggle with Parkinson's disease on September 7, but never gave up the struggle for historical accuracy and truth.

[This article originally appeared in *New Isolationist*, 215 Long Beach Blvd., No. 427, Long Beach, CA 90802.]

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[1]"Puck of Magdalen," *The Economist*, September 15, 1990, page 119.

About the Contributors

DAVID IRVING is the author of many books on the Second World War. He is currently working on a biography of German propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels and a book entitled *Roosevelt's War.*.

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III is editor of *New Libertarian* magazine and *New Isolationist* newsletter, as well as executive director of the Agorist Institute, a free-market think-tank which investigates the counter-economy as an alternative to government interference in the marketplace.

FRED A. LEUCHTER, author of the two myth-shattering reports on the alleged German homicidal gas chambers which bear his name, is America's leading expert on the design and fabrication of homicidal gas chambers. After receiving a B.A. from Boston University in 1964, Leuchter did postgraduate work at the Harvard Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He holds patents for the design of sextants, surveying instruments, and optical encoding equipment. He is an accomplished pianist and an NRA-qualified small-arms instructor.

CARLO MATTOGNO has done advanced linguistic and exegetical study in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanskrit. A specialist in textual criticism, Mr. Mattogno has published a number of Revisionist studies in Italian, including *Il rapporto Gerstein: anatomia di un falso* and *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze.* He is a frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review.*

MARK WEBER studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, Portland State University (B.A., 1976), and Indiana University (M.A., 1977). He has published many articles on Revisionist subjects in *The Journal of Historical Review* and elsewhere, and is currently working on a major Revisionist study of the Holocaust story. As of the new year, he will join the staff of the Institute of Historical Review.

JACK WIKOFF is a writer and researcher living in central New York State, where he publishes a Revisionist newsletter (*Remarks*, P.O. Box 234, Aurora, NY 13026).

JOHN TOLAND:

. . . *Barbara Tuchman, who was under the impression that I was a Nazi . . . said,* Why are you writing about Hitler? *I said* I think he was the greatest mover and shaker of our century, and changed all our lives, and I'm trying to tell the objective story of Hitler. *She said,* Toland nobody is objective. *And I said,* Speak for yourself, Barbara.

DAVID IRVING:

They [the Exterminationists] *have realized that they are way out of line with the Auschwitz story, and they are frantically engaged in damage control at present. They're pulling their entire army of liars back from the main battlefront, into the second line, because all the artillery that's coming down on the front line now is making it too dangerous for them.*

MARK WEBER:

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Ivor Benson: The distinguished South African commentator tells of the crime, and the cover-up, of the century: the murder of Russian Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family by a non-Russian cabal.

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